

Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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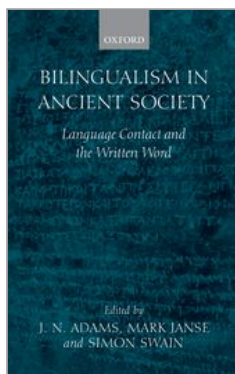
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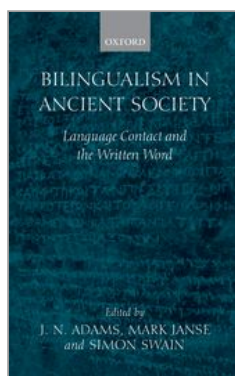
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J. N. A.

M. J.

S. C. R. S. **(p.vi)**



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(p.ix) Notes on Contributors

JAMES ADAMS is a Senior Research Fellow at All Souls College, Oxford. His extensive publications on Latin and its history include *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary* (1982), *Pelagonius and Latin Veterinary Terminology in the Roman Empire* (1995), and *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (forthcoming, 2002).

FRÉDÉRIQUE BIVILLE is Professor of Latin Linguistics at the Université Lumiér —Lyon 2. She researches on all aspects of Latin and her books include *Les Emprunts du latin au grec* (2 vols.; 1990–5).

CLAUDE BRIXHE is Emeritus Professor at the University of Nancy 2. He is well known for his work on ancient Greek, and his books include *Essai sur le grec anatolien au début de notre ère* (2nd edn. 1987) and *Phonétique et phonologie du grec ancien*, vol. i (1996).

PHILIP BURTON is Senior Research Fellow in Theology at the University of Birmingham and Lecturer in Greek and Humanity at the University of St Andrews. His research interests centre on Greek and Latin linguistics, Latin Christianity, and Christian Latinity. He has recently published *The Old Latin Gospels* (2000) and a translation of the *Confessions* of Augustine (2001).

PENELOPE FEWSTER trained as a Roman historian and papyrologist at Cambridge and was formerly lecturer in ancient history at Keele. She is currently preparing a book on religion in Roman Egypt.

PIERRE FLOBERT is Emeritus Professor at the University of Paris-Sorbonne. He has published widely on the history of the Latin language in late antique and medieval France, and his books include *Les Verbes déponents latins des origines à Charlemagne* (1975), *La Vie ancienne de Saint Samson de Dol* (1997), and an edition of *Le Grand Gaffiot: Dictionnaire latin—français* (2000).

MARK JANSE is the editor of *Bibliographie linguistique*, The Hague, Associate Professor of Greek and General Linguistics at the University of Ghent, and a Research Fellow at the University of Amsterdam. He has published extensively on all aspects and ages of the Greek language, and his recent publications include edited volumes *Productivity and Creativity: Studies in General and Descriptive Linguistics in Honor of E. M. Uhlenbeck* (1998), *Modern Greek Dialects and Linguistic Theory* (2001), **(p.x)** and *Language Death and Language Maintenance: Theoretical, Historical and Descriptive Approaches* (2002).

DAVID LANGSLOW is Professor of Classics at the University of Manchester and Emeritus Fellow of Wolf son College, Oxford. His recent publications centre on technical, especially medical, Latin, and include *Medical Latin in the Roman Empire* (2000).

MARTTI LEIWO is a lecturer in the Department of Classics, University of Helsinki. He is currently a Senior Researcher in the Finnish Academy's project on 'Interactivity between the Greek and Roman World'. His many publications include *Neapolitana: Language and Population in Graeco-Roman Naples* (1994).

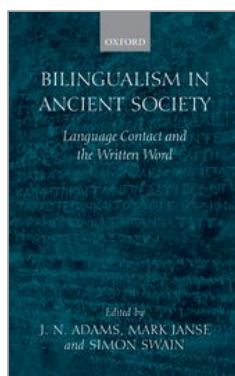
ZEEV RUBIN is Professor of Ancient History at Tel Aviv University. His current interests focus on Sasanid Iran and relations between the Sasanians and the later Roman Empire. Recent publications include major studies of Khusro Anushirwan in Averil Cameron (ed.), *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Sear East*, iii (1995), and of the Sasanid monarchy in *CAH* xiv (2000).

IAN RUTHERFORD is Professor of Greek at the Department of Classics, University of Reading. He has published widely in the areas of literary papyrology and Greek religion, and is the author of *Canons of Style in the Antonine Age* (1998) and *Pindar's Paeans* (2000).

SIMON SWAIN is Professor of Classics at the University of Warwick. His publications on the Greek culture of the Roman Empire include *Hellenism and Empire* (1996) and *Dio Chrysostom* (2000).

DAVID TAYLOR is Senior Lecturer in the Department of Theology, University of Birmingham. His major research interests are Syriac and Aramaic, the late antique Near East, eastern patristics, and the eastern Church, Recent books include *The Syriac Versions of the De Spiritu Sancto by Basil of Caesarea* (1999) and an edited volume of *Studies in the Early Text of the Gospels and Acts* (1999).

KEES VERSTEEGH is Professor of Arabic and Islam at the University of Nijmegen. His numerous publications include *Arabic Grammar and Qur'anic Exegesis in Early Islam* (1993), *The Arabic Language* (1997), and *The Arabic Linguistic Tradition* (1997).



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Introduction

J. N. ADAMS
SIMON SWAIN

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Abstract and Keywords

Language contact intruded into virtually every aspect of life in ancient societies, including high literature, law, medicine, magic, religion, provincial administration, army, and trade. This book focuses on sociolinguistic issues, such as the nature and motivation of code-switching. The languages which come up in this volume are numerous. Apart from Greek and Latin, there are Lycian, Phrygian, Gothic, Hebrew, Turkish, Old Persian, Middle Persian, Parthian, Arabic, Gaulish, Etruscan, Venetic, Middle English, Sumerian Eme-sal, Demotic and Coptic in Egypt, and Aramaic and its dialects, including Palmyrene and Syriac. This book examines the particular problems posed by the assessment of written texts as specimens of bilingual performance. Another important theme recurring in this volume is the relationship between language and cultural/political systems.

Keywords: language contact, ancient societies, sociolinguistics, Greek, Latin, politics, culture, code-switching

IN recent years there have appeared several collections of essays dealing with aspects of bilingualism in the ancient world,¹ as well as numerous papers,² and several specialist books.³ Work on a variety of apparently unrelated subjects is also beginning to show an awareness of the ramifications of bilingualism,⁴ The increasing interest among classicists in the subject is hardly surprising, given the explosion of work on bilingualism in general since the early 1980s. This book springs from a conference held at the University of Reading in 1998, The participants were a group of scholars with diverse interests and different approaches to bilingualism, and included historians and students of literature as well as philologists. They were given no brief other than to deal with the material they knew best under the general heading of 'bilingualism'. The assumption of the organizers was that a miscellaneous group of papers by experts in a variety of languages would be bound to throw up an interesting diversity of material from which recurrent themes might readily be extracted.

The evidence relating to bilingualism in antiquity is immense, and the subject is underexploited. Language contact intruded into virtually every aspect of ancient life: e.g. high literature, the law, medicine, magic, religion, provincial administration, the army, and **(p.2)** trade. An obvious question which students of antiquity have tended to ask is of the type, 'Who spoke what where at a particular period?' Sociolinguists by contrast examine the day-to-day language use and language choice of bilinguals with in theory infinitely variable degrees of competence in two or more languages. In no sense is the present work intended as a survey of the languages and the extent of bilingualism across the Mediterranean world. Some discussion of the question described above as 'obvious' is to be found in this volume (see e.g. Brixhe, Taylor), but on the whole it would be more accurate to say that the focus is rather on sociolinguistic issues. Language choice, for example, is often bound up with the identity which a person is seeking to project on a particular occasion, and 'identity' will come up from time to time (see e.g. Adams, Swain, Taylor), Another issue in sociolinguistics today concerns the nature and motivation of code-switching,⁵ which may be defined for our purposes as the practice of using two or more languages in the same utterance. It is worthwhile to quote the definition of code-switching adopted by Milroy and Muysken, as a means of highlighting a central concern of this volume: code-switching, they say, is 'the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same *conversation*'.⁶ Whereas linguists dealing with bilingualism in the modern world almost invariably devote their attention to *speech*,⁷ students of antiquity have only *written* texts (some of them of high formality) to go on, and the issues raised by a written text which is either explicitly or implicitly bilingual⁸ may be rather different from those raised by informal language use in everyday conversation. Writing is by its very nature more contrived than informal speech, and a good deal of thought may lie behind the production of the text. Is it legitimate, for example, to treat code-switching in a text as comparable to code-switching in a conversation?

The languages which come up in this volume are numerous. Apart **from** Greek and Latin, there are Lycian, Phrygian, Gothic, **(p.3)** Hebrew, Turkish, Old Persian, Middle Persian, Parthian, Arabic, Gaulish, Etruscan, Venetic, Middle English, Sumerian Eme-sal, Demotic and Coptic in Egypt, and Aramaic and its dialects, including Palmyrene and Syriac. No attempt has been made to achieve total coverage of the ancient world, which would be a formidable task, but we have sought to look beyond Greek and Latin in contact with each other.

1. Bilingualism and Written Texts vs. Bilingualism in Speech

In what follows we take up some of the themes which recur in the volume. First and foremost is the issue referred to above, namely the particular problems posed by the assessment of *written* texts as specimens of bilingual performance. A bilingual text, or a text with a bilingual background of some sort (e.g. a translation), cannot necessarily be taken at face value as an indication of the writer's bilingual competence or of the state of one or both of the languages in contact. To put it another way, a mixed-language text (or text with interference) cannot be assessed purely in linguistic terms. As Taylor remarks, 'Non-linguistic issues, such as political, social, cultural, and religious factors, must not be forgotten' (below, pp. 299–300). This is nowhere more clearly illustrated than in the hybrid, heavily Graecized variety of Syriac which turns up in the sixth to eighth centuries in translations of Greek texts. This hybrid does not reflect a state of the (Syriac) language at the time, but is to be seen as a translation technique 'motivated not by a sense of cultural inferiority but by the need to produce authoritative texts in Syriac that could be relied upon when engaged in debate. It is thus no great surprise that the first Syriac translations to be produced in this way are biblical and theological writings, and secondly philosophical texts. In all of these cases, particularly in an era of fierce christological controversy, *'it was essential for the Syrians... that they had access to texts which would accurately reflect the Greek originals being employed by their opponents'* (Taylor, below, p. 330; our italics). The interference in the translation is thus deliberate, adopted as a strategy for evoking the original text lying behind the translation. Here is a striking difference between bilingual interference as it appears in a written text and that which might be **(p.4)** heard in speech. Interference in speech (and indeed often that in writing as well) is usually not intentional (reflecting as it does the dominant influence of the speaker's first language (L₁) on his L₂). If the speaker is conscious of it, he may be all too aware that his competence in L₂ is insufficient to allow him to find the idioms or morphology appropriate to that language. It is virtually inconceivable that a fluent bilingual speaker would deliberately admit interference in one of his languages from the other, except under very special circumstances, as for example if he were engaging in mimicry or attempting to be funny.

It emerges from the volume that the type of translation with deliberate interference is not uncommon in written texts. Langslow indeed gives the phenomenon a name, 'alloglottography', a coinage of Gershevitch, which is defined thus: 'the use of one language (call it L_1) to represent an utterance in another language (L_2), in the Old Persian case in such a way that the original utterance in L_2 can be accurately and unambiguously recovered from the document in L_1 ' (below, p. 44). Burton remarks that 'Semantic and syntactic extension (especially the former) is particularly likely to occur in biblical translations, as translators are under special obligation to reproduce as much as they can of the structures of the original in the target language' (below, p. 410). He is alluding to the same translation techniques as those discussed by Taylor. Rutherford for his part suggests that correspondences of word order and filiation between the two versions of Greek-Lycian bilingual texts may sometimes be due to a conscious effort to maintain *symmetry* between the versions, even if that meant departing from syntactic or ordering norms in one of them. This symmetry is much the same phenomenon as alloglottography: a transparent connection is sought between the versions. Thus in the Greek-Lycian epitaph TL 117 the elements come in exactly the same order in the two versions, with for example two cases of *υἱός* corresponding exactly in placement to that of *tideimi*. The Xanthos trilingual begins with an *ἐπεὶ* clause in the Greek, whereas in most decrees in Greek 'specifications of time are expressed with a genitive absolute'. This clause corresponds to an *êke* clause in the Lycian, and the structure of the two clauses is otherwise the same:

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êke:	Trm~misñ :	χssaθrapazate :	Pigesere :	Katamlah :	tideimi
ἐπεὶ	Λυκίας	Ξαδράπης ἐγένετο	Πιξώδαρος	Ἐκατόμνω	ύός

(p.5) Rutherford sees this not necessarily as ‘the work of a barely competent translator slavishly following the Lycian’, but as ‘part of a strategy that Greek and Lycian texts should be in a relationship of formal symmetry’ (Rutherford, below, p. 217).

The phenomenon we have been discussing is a feature of translations. But it is not only in translations that abnormal syntactic patterns may be taken over deliberately from one language into another. The Italian *negotiatores* based on Delos and at various other places in the Greek world in the last centuries of the Republic set up many formal public inscriptions, in Latin, Greek, and both languages together (see Adams). Even inscriptions purely in Latin repeatedly make use of a syntactic structure associated with Greek epigraphy rather than Latin (the accusative of the honorand). *Unintentional* interference (from the writers’ L₂!) is out of the question. The phenomenon is best seen as a form of imitation. In high Latin literature authors often admitted Greek constructions (the accusative of respect, the nominative + infinitive in dependent reflexive clauses, etc.) alien to Latin as one of many means of displaying their attachment to a Greek-derived literary tradition, and that too is imitation rather than interference. But such imitation in a public inscription is more complex in its motivation. It is argued by Adams that at Delos the *negotiatores* had a perception of their distinctive identity as Italians thoroughly integrated into a Greek world, and that this mixed identity is expressed in inscriptions by linguistic strategies, including the deliberate imposition of Greek structures on Latin. It is only through the medium of the written word that such strategies could have any impact.

Since bilingual texts are by definition written, and are often written in more than one script as well as more than one language, the act of composition may involve not only a performance in bilingual language use, but also a performance in biliteracy. Biliteracy and its relationship to bilingualism come up several times in the volume. The theme surfaces in Langslow's discussion of language death in Etruria and the Venetic territory (below, pp. 31–5). When a dominant new culture (and a new language) appear on the scene, leading to language learning, bilingualism, and (perhaps) the death of the language of the subordinate people, the contact should not be seen purely as affecting speech habits. Different languages tend to use different scripts, and when a second language is imposed on or taken up by a people, they may also acquire a second script, **(p.6)** or alternatively they may refuse to learn the new script and use the old one to write the new language. Bilingualism thus interacts in interesting ways with biculturalism. Two patterns are particularly common. First, immigrants may pick up the language of their new habitat as a purely spoken form, and if they are beyond the conventional age of education they may never acquire the script appropriate to the new tongue. Many Greeks who moved from, the east to Rome (in many cases as slaves) never learnt properly to cope with the Latin alphabet, and hence they used their own to write Latin. On the other hand, an invading power may effectively stamp out the literary culture of the subject people, who hold on to their original language for a generation or two but without the support of any sort of education system such as to perpetuate instruction in its writing. Hence they adopt the new writing system to write their old language in the period prior to its death. In its last days Punic, for example, was written in Latin script. Langslow argues that the alphabet is affected first in a language shift, and personal names later (below, p. 33). Taylor too deals briefly with transliteration as indicative of a lack of biliteracy. There is a short Palmyrene graffito from Dura Europos (Hillers and Cussini, *PAT* 1117) written in Greek script, 'and it might be argued that this is best understood as having been produced by someone familiar with the spoken language but not of sufficient formal Palmyrene education to know the script' (Taylor, p. 318). In the cases referred to in this paragraph the written text deserves consideration not simply as a possible specimen of *bilingualism* in the linguist's sense, but as an index to the writer's degree of *bilingual literacy*. Imperfect literacy of the types mentioned above tells us things which may be of no interest to the linguist who studies bilingualism in action in contemporary speech communities, but it is nevertheless of considerable cultural importance.

Leiwo also treats some of the special problems raised by the study of bilingualism through the medium of written texts as distinct from speech. He points out, for example, that the genre of an inscription is an important determinant of language choice (below, p. 170 n. 5), and that one cannot make deductions from an inscription requiring by tradition one language or the other about the language use or preferences of its referents. The language competence of the stonecutter available on a particular occasion also must be taken into account in assessing the language used in a bilingual **(p.7)** region. The circumstances in which the stone might have been prepared likewise cannot be disregarded. For example (p. 178), if the heading of an inscription is in one language but the rest of the text in another, that need have nothing to do with code-switching as that term is used in reference to speech habits. The headings may have been pre-cut in particular workshops, and then had the commissioned text appended. Moreover, ritual words, aphorisms, or tags in a language different from the rest of the inscription may have nothing to reveal about the linguistic competence of referents or clients. For example, the presence of a Hebrew ritual term (*shalom*) at the end of a Jewish inscription cannot be used as evidence that anyone in the community genuinely knew Hebrew (p. 184).

2. Bilingual Texts

It is inevitable in a work of this kind that *bilingual texts* should attract much comment. The expression is used loosely to describe a text (usually an inscription) which has versions in two or more languages, but in fact exact equivalence between the versions is unusual. Leiwo (pp. 175–7) makes the point that the relationship between the versions may vary considerably, from equivalence through partial overlap to complete difference. The variations reflect such factors as the conventions of presentation obtaining in the two languages, and the types of information or impressions which the client wished to convey to different readerships. Taylor rejects the idea that in bilingual inscriptions one version must always be primary and the other a translation of it. As he states, ‘There are numerous examples of bilingual inscriptions where the two texts are not dramatically different, and yet it is clear that each is an independent product conforming to accepted conventions’ (p. 321). He cites the case of *PAT 0297*, a funerary inscription in Greek and Palmyrene, in which the formulaic structure of the two versions adheres to separate traditions operating in the two languages. The Greek opens with the name of the honorand in the accusative, whereas the Aramaic has the opening formula ‘This is the statue of ...’. On the other hand, if there is exact equivalence (down to word order or syntactic structure, for example), it may well be that one of the versions has had inflicted on it structures not normal in the language in which it is written. In such cases (as in some of the **(p.8)** inscriptions of Delos and in the Greek–Lycian bilinguals) one must ask whether the ‘alien’ elements reflect unintentional interference, or derive from a deliberate decision with some sort of ideological significance. Greeks at Delos, for example, sometimes modified the Greek method of expressing filiation in order to *accommodate* their usage to the patterns expected in filiations by their Latin-speaking addressees. Linguistic accommodation is a form of deference or politeness which stands in a polar opposition to what might be called ‘aggressive’ language use adopted as a means of exclusion. The Greek who speaks Latin to a Roman practises accommodation, whereas the Greek who speaks Greek to a monolingual Latin speaker may be acting aggressively. But both accommodation (as the case from Delos shows) and exclusion may take more subtle forms than those represented by such extreme cases as these.

We may agree that the assumption should not automatically be made that one version of a bilingual text must be a translation of the other, but it does not follow that there are not bilinguals in which one version has primacy and the other is derived directly from it. Langslow (p. 30) deals with a bilingual text in Gaulish and Latin, of which on internal grounds the Celtic version can be accepted as the original, with the Latin a copy of it. A central argument of Rubin's paper is that the Greek version of the trilingual inscription which is known as the *Res Gestae Diui Saporis* is a translation, not a creative effort, and that there are signs (p. 274, p. 275 n. 19) that the translator was not a native speaker of Greek. He was capable, for example, of using the nominative case for the accusative, and that is not a feature of ordinary uneducated Greek but a learner's error.

Thus, whether the versions are identical or different, bilingual inscriptions have light to throw on a variety of issues, such as interference, accommodation, the intended readership, and the projection of identities. A bilingual funerary inscription, for example, is unlikely to have been set up for a monolingual. Its bilingual character tells the reader at the very least that the deceased was perceived or wished to be perceived as belonging either to two distinct linguistic groups, or to the distinctive group of the bilinguals within his society. The inscription thus reveals something about the referent's sense of identity.

(p.9) 3. Diglossia

A recurrent theme of this volume is the inadequacy of the *diglossic opposition* often set up between the H(igh) and L(ow) codes allegedly coexisting in various societies, where the H variety is supposedly used for formal functions and the L for informal. Thus Versteegh observes, below, p. 68, that 'In a diglossic speech community there are no discrete varieties, but linguistic variation is organized along a continuum between the standard language and the vernacular. Both ends of the continuum represent constructs: at the top the standard is the codified norm and at the bottom end of the continuum the idealized vernacular consists in a conglomerate of non-standard features'.⁹ Taylor repeatedly questions the applicability of the conventional opposition H vs. L to his material, and presents a more subtle picture of language choice than that permitted within the H/L framework. For example, in north Syrian inscriptions Greek seems to have been particularly associated with Christianity, Aramaic with pagan religious practices.

On the situation in Palmyra Taylor states: 'I would go further and argue that at Palmyra there were two H varieties, Greek and Aramaic ..., which had equal public status, although both were associated with particular specialist functions and linguistic domains' (p. 320). Greek was 'associated with public activities, whether the running of the city and its dependent territories, or the public honouring of notable citizens and foreign dignitaries', whereas fine funerary monuments are almost invariably in Aramaic. 'Conceivably this phenomenon is related to the psychology of identity, in other words the citizens of Palmyra felt that their true identity required expression in their native tongue, Aramaic, but it would perhaps be more accurate to suggest that at Palmyra Aramaic was considered the appropriate language for the linguistic domain of religion' (p. 319).

In a similar vein Langslow recalls the well-known example of the emperor Charles V, who 'is said to have spoken Castilian to God, German to his horses, French in council meetings, and Italian in salon conversation' (p. 39). This nicely encapsulates the unsatisfactory **(p.10)** nature of attempting to explain language choice in terms of hierarchic (diglossic) contrasts which pit High against Low. There is to some extent a hierarchy implicit in the emperor's language choice, in that one assumes that he chose the language of highest status to address God, and that of lowest status to address his horses, but French and Italian do not fit easily into such a scale. It is far better to describe the language choices as related to the *domain* of language use. Another of Langslow's examples illustrates this point even more clearly. 'Grillparzer, the Austrian poet ... used Italian for talking of music, French for polite conversation, Greek for philosophy, and Latin for rhetoric'. None of the languages is Low, but each is appropriate to a particular domain.

Langslow also presents an unusual case of what he calls 'diglossia' (p. 27), viz. the women's language Sumerian Eme-sal. Here the languages or language varieties in contact are not selected according to the function expressed, but according to the sex of the speaker (or rather writer).

4. Bilingualism, Politics, and Society

One of the many important themes recurring in this volume is the relationship between language and cultural/political systems. The effect of these systems on the success or decline of languages is a basic consideration behind much sociolinguistic discussion of language usage in the modern world. Political and economic interaction may have the effect of giving languages of different ethnic groups formal or informal parity, and this may cause a widespread learning of both languages, leading to a balanced bilingualism. On the other hand, social or political pressures are often responsible for pushing languages into a state of inferiority or obsolescence, which leads to the emergence of populations who must perforce become bilingual in order to cope with new moral and political rules. The notion of diglossia is again important here. As has been noted in the previous section, it is quite possible to envisage a complex situation in which there are two (or more) competing High varieties (L_1 and L_2). There are many examples of this today, e.g. English and Welsh in Wales, English and French in Canada, or French and Flemish in Belgium. But whatever the theories or aspirations of the official language policies which uphold these language situations, in practice **(p.11)** such High varieties are not usually interchangeable. What we get is a bilingualism which exists in writing. Thus laws and road signs may be written in both languages. But at street level bilingual populations will keep their languages distinct: it is unwise to buy a newspaper in French from a Flemish-speaking kiosk holder or to use English to ask for a beer in a Welsh-speaking public house.

The nature of the evidence from ancient times is liable to favour this type of (as it were) 'apparent' bilingualism. There are numerous texts which employ Latin and Greek, Greek and Aramaic, Greek and Lycian, etc., in public and official usages. It is often very difficult to determine the status and the degree of usage of the two (or more) languages beyond the texts themselves. The traditional, philological approach is to ask which has priority. Does the 'secondary' language not offer an accurate translation? Did its author really comprehend the 'first' language? If we can do better today and approach the problem from a sociolinguistic perspective by talking of competing High varieties (e.g. of Palmyrene Aramaic and Greek), we must still bear in mind that we have no idea where/ when (for example) Palmyrene nobles used Greek and where/when they used Aramaic outside the contexts of our written evidence.

Bilingualism by definition acknowledges the existence of ethnic differences. But it does not necessarily reveal a lack of integration between the ethnic groups who use different languages. Indeed, ethnic tension is unlikely in a case like Palmyra, where it is one and the same élite who inscribe in Aramaic or Greek.¹⁰ That said, bilingual diglossia may take a different form where a foreign language totally monopolizes the domains of public expression. Thus the dominance of Latin and Greek in the western and eastern spheres of the Mediterranean cultural zone hides an enormous linguistic diversity. There is no evidence that either Romans or Greeks sought to suppress languages in the areas where their speakers came to exert political control. This is because they had no need to. Take the case of Gaul.¹¹ After the Roman conquest of the mid-first century **BC** the various Gallo-Greek and Iberian scripts of southern Gaul, which had been used sporadically to write Celtic since the fourth century, were replaced almost wholesale by the Latin script. The new habit then spread throughout Gaul during the reign of Augustus. The famous case of the pottery workers of La Graufesenque, **(p.12)** who used Latin and Celtic words in their business records of the late first century AD, may show the process of the replacement of Gallic by Latin. This type of mixing or switching is at any rate a well-observed part of the phenomenon of 'language death'.¹²

The cultural power of Roman civilization had a similar effect on other western languages, beginning with the several tongues of pre-Roman Italy. Ironically, the end of the Roman Empire in the west brought different but comparable politico-linguistic pressures on Latin itself and led in Gaul, for example, to the formation of a Latin mixed with Germanic words, as Flobert brings out below.

The evidence for contact between Greek and other languages is more extensive than is the case with Latin. In the Near East Greek was a latecomer in a multilingual world. The expectation that languages would—and should—be mastered is shown nicely by the famous reaction of the Assyrian king, Ashurbanipal (668- c.630 BC), to the appearance of a messenger from a new power with an unknown tongue, the Lydians: '[Of] all the languages of east and west, over which the god Ashur has given me control, there was no interpreter of his tongue. His language was foreign, so that his words were not understood'.¹³

The Greek language in Egypt and the Near East was to a large extent a language of conquest in the wake of Alexander's destruction of the Persian Achaemenid empire. Economic, military, and political power was in the hands of Greek speakers settled in cities founded to control the conquered territories. The political and cultural mechanisms developed by the classical Greeks had already secured for the Greek language an extraordinary prestige (cf. Rutherford on Greek in fifth- and fourth-century Lycia). The power of the Hellenistic kingdoms consolidated the grip of this language in the east and in the Greek political sphere Greek replaced the Aramaic that had been the most commonly used High variety in the Achaemenid bureaux. Josephus, an intelligent and subtle commentator, was well aware of the Greeks' reliance on 'gunboat linguistics' to shore up their belief in the imaginary racial unity of their new-territories: 'They prettified the nations with names they [i.e. the Greeks] could understand and imposed on them forms of government as though they were their own descendants.'¹⁴

(p.13) When Rome became the new force in the area west of the Euphrates during the second and first centuries BC the Greek language retained its authority because of its prestige and because of the economic and continuing local-political power of the Greek-speaking cities of the region. There was no immediate reversion (so far as we know) to Aramaic as lingua franca. But Roman power apparently did dent the linguistic hegemony of Greek and allow some resurgence of local linguistic identity. The Neo-Phrygian discussed by Brixhe below is a good example of this. The reappearance of Phrygian on its own or in bilingual texts with Greek points to a newly perceived parity. If Phrygians wanted to be players on the international scene, Greek was the language to use. At a local level their own language could be employed (albeit in Greek script; cf. above on Celtic in Gaul). There are several other examples of this trend (leaving aside the situation in the Near East and Egypt), as Janse notes in his survey of Cappadocian and other languages of Asia Minor.¹⁵

Far more important to the social history of bilingualism in the Near East is the emergence of a new high variety of Aramaic—called Syriac—in the kingdom of Edessa (a buffer state between the Roman and Parthian empires) from the first and second centuries AD onwards. The dominance of Greek over the local Aramaics of north-west Syria and the Lebanon makes it reasonable to assume a sort of cultural amnesia in these zones; at least this is the position adopted in Millar's authoritative *The Roman Near East* for peoples other than the ancient Jews in the period down to Constantine. But the assumption is unnecessary.¹⁶ The cultural power of Greek and its public-political guarantee by Rome made it the sole high variety in use. We should, however, acknowledge the probability that many elite users of Greek here also continued to speak a local language. The situation in the region from Palestine through to Egypt offers enough evidence to make this plausible. The Egyptian language was not suppressed by Greek. Greek culture did terminate the education system through which the most difficult scripts of Egyptian were mastered, marginalizing these in the temples, as Fewster observes below. But demotic script continued to be used and much demotic literature was written in the Graeco-Roman era. The continuing consciousness of the native language is behind its spectacular metamorphosis in the Christian **(p.14)** period. One of the main impacts of Christianity was to weaken the link between Greek language and Greek culture. Many Christian authors writing in Greek trumpet their new-found freedom in this regard. In Egypt the resilience of Egyptian is shown in the adaptation of the Greek alphabet to the writing of the new phase of the language after AD 300, which we call Coptic. Re-alphabetization is a known feature of political or cultural interaction and especially for 'oppressed' languages, and the contribution of this volume to the topic (which is hardly mentioned in the standard treatments of language death) has already been noted above (cf. again Brixhe on Neo-Phrygian). As Fewster remarks in her chapter (p. 226), Coptic reflects a desire to write Egyptian in a script which was readily available and learnable and which could now be perceived (one may add) as no longer ethnically tarnished.

To take another example, the Nabataean kingdom centred on Petra again provides good evidence against cultural amnesia. The Nabataean élite put up public texts both in Greek and in their local Aramaic. After Trajan reduced the kingdom to a province in AD 106, Greek is the language of public output. However, Nabataean (which is a convenient modern term for closely related varieties of Aramaic written in a particular stable, if developing, script) is used extensively till the fourth/fifth century as a language of private commemoration and prayer throughout the area of north Arabia, the Negev, and especially in Sinai. Moreover, the Nabataean script remained in use as a prestige script (e.g. in the Arabic of the famous Namara inscription of AD 328/9). If we did not have these texts, we might have assumed a sudden death of the language from the power and prestige of Greek.¹⁷

The argument drawn from the absence of Aramaic in Syria and Lebanon is one based on silence. There is good evidence from late antiquity for Aramaic speakers in this region and for locals who wrote in Syriac (which they could hardly have done, had they not been speakers of the local Aramaics). If the prestige of Greek prevented Aramaic epigraphy in the High Roman Empire, that does not mean that Aramaic was extinguished from any social level.

Lucian from Samosata on the Euphrates in northern Syria is an interesting case to look at in this regard. His expertise in imitating the classical Greek dialects seems to confirm the monolingual reading of Roman Syria. However, since he repeatedly refers to himself **(p.15)** as ‘barbarian’ and ‘Syrian’, it is surely reasonable to hold that he was an Aramaic speaker.¹⁸ The test case is *On the Syrian Goddess*, where Lucian blends Herodotean pastiche and Herodotean and his own autobiographical travel in a celebration of the great shrine of Atargatis at Hierapolis Bambyce, a city some 130 kilometres south-west of Samosata in the same Provincia Syria. At ch. 31 ff. Lucian describes the inner sanctum of the shrine. Between ‘Hera’ and ‘Zeus’ (‘whom they call by another name’, i.e. Hadad) stands the object called the ‘standard’. ‘It is called a “standard” [σημῆιον]¹⁹ by the Assyrians themselves, and they gave it no name of its own’ (33). By interpreting this from a monolingual perspective it may be suggested that Lucian is surprised by the lack of an Aramaic word for this cult object—the natives have forgotten the name and use instead a common noun from Greek.²⁰ The term ‘bilinguality’ has been coined by Hamers and Blanc (1989) to describe an individual’s disposition to process two languages and two cultural systems. We know from a similar cult at Hatra (a vassal state of the Parthians in central Mesopotamia) that the Aramaic word for the standard was *smy*.²¹ It happens that this is homophonous and synonymous with the Greek word, and the root from which it came had clearly coalesced with Greek σημῆιον and its cognates in a number of general senses. This is as we should expect in an area where the two languages were in daily contact. Bilingual processing has encouraged Lucian in effect to code-switch into Aramaic. The similarity of the Aramaic and Greek terms allowed him both to express his bilinguality and simultaneously to uphold his claim to employ the purest Greek.

By taking account of similar bilingual and bicultural factors we can do away with another alleged instance of amnesia.²² This case concerns the cult of the sun god at Emesa, which was centred on a **(p.16)** large conical black stone. The attested Aramaic form of the deity's name is *'l'gbl*, which is usually taken to mean 'god-mountain'. When the natives 'forgot' their own culture, including their language, the first element of the name was confused with the Greek *hēlios*, and the name of the god was taken as Helios Elagabalos (epigraphically attested). In other words, the original mountainous nature of the deity was transformed into a sunny one. A socio-bilingual approach is more satisfying. We may take the Aramaic elements as the words for 'god' and something like 'creator'.²³ In other words, the deity is not specified. There is no reason to disbelieve Herodian's report that the chief aspect of this god was solar,²⁴ since the sun was widely worshipped in native Syrian religion. If there is, then, a cultic overlap between *'l'gbl* and Helios, it is bilingual processing that has effected the slide between *'l'* and *hēlios*. There was no forgetting. A bilingual and bicultural society made an identification suggested by language and acceptable to religion.

5. The Culture of Bilingualism

It is impossible to estimate the extension of bilingualism that such examples as these represent. Fewster suggests (pp. 241–3) that in Egypt it is to the middle-ranking officials that we should look to find significant numbers of the most balanced bilinguals, for it was at this level that officials had to be able to communicate with both local and non-local, i.e. Greek-speaking, colleagues. The situation in the rest of the Greek East may have been comparable. But many cities of the Mediterranean world must have been bilingual in the sense that a proportion of their populations will have had some knowledge of more than one language. Code-switching and code-mixing (a phenomenon particularly associated with language learning and a poor command of L_2) must have been common. Some form of pidgin would have been spoken by merchants and travellers.²⁵ Rome itself had from the Middle Republic onwards a very large Greek-speaking population. Leiwo offers some considerations **(p.17)** on this below, pp. 179 ff. Adams's treatment of Italian businessmen on Delos is also relevant: Greek would already have been familiar to them from the bilingual profile of many Italian towns. The Roman elite of the Late Republic and Empire constitute a special case here (Swain, below). The evidence of Cicero and others suggests that the Roman nobility knew Greek and that the Greek they knew was the educated end of a continuum (cf. Versteegh, below, pp. 68 ff.) which extended to the freedmen and servile class.²⁶ That these Romans regularly use Greek words/phrases and quotations in their Latin (the phenomenon of code-switching), probably writing Greek for the most part in Greek script, is very likely to be a sign of their claim to the cultural-political authority of the classical Greeks. It probably again also reflects the widespread use of Greek in the city of Rome. Both of these observations help to explain why Greek was not permissible in public discourse, in other words the diglossia of bilingualism. The political consciousness of the Romans would not tolerate the expression of ideas in another language. The bilingualism of Rome served to reinforce this, since the lower-class status of primary Greek speakers cannot have failed to have impressed itself on the élite.

As for the culture of Latin in the Greek East, it is evident that enough was spoken by soldiers, colonists, and traders (cf. again Adams) for many words to enter the Greek language, which at the spoken level has always been permeable to foreign influences (cf. again Janse on Cappadocian Greek, below, pp. 357 ff.).²⁷ We may consider the matter from the perspective of borrowings. If one may (somewhat crudely) divide borrowings into predictable and non-predictable categories, where predictable borrowings fill gaps in the lexicon for imported concepts and objects, it is not surprising that Greek should take over technical terms such as *legio* (λεγεών) or *quaestor* (κουάιστωρ).²⁸ But there are many non-predictable borrowings too, which reflect everyday contact between Latin and Greek speakers and, importantly, the willingness of Greek speakers to incorporate Latin code-switches into their speech.

Although the high variety of Greek avoided Latin imports (and the Latin alphabet), it too was obliged, especially in military and administrative matters, to make use of loan translations or *caiques* **(p.18)** of Latin words (i.e. translation of each element of the Latin word into Greek) and extensions of the sense of more or less equivalent Greek terms. To understand the technical meaning of *ταμίας* as *aedilis* (to take an obvious example) is to understand something of the sense of the Latin word. Among the élite there is good reason to think that many Greeks were at least partially bilingual in Latin. The interesting set of jokes giving Greek etymologies for common Latin words for meals and eating at Plutarch, *Table Talks* 8. 6 (*Mor.* 726 E–727A), presupposes this.²⁹ Greek speakers who worked for Rome or who lived in the West were necessarily bilingual. The studied bilingualism of the translator and the interference between L¹ and L₂ that is a regular feature of translations are matters that come up frequently in this book. Greeks who wrote about Rome learnt Latin and it is reasonable to seek examples of interference (or code-mixing) in their Greek. One example can point to the limits of this type of enquiry. The historian Appian of Alexandria practised as a barrister at Rome in the mid-second century.³⁰ He chose to write his history of the Roman Empire in the purist, Atticist' Greek which dominated literature at this time. Naturally he includes many Roman technical terms in Greek guise. More interestingly, he seems in one instance to have radically shifted the sense of a Greek word by construing it as a *caique*. In classical Greek the verb *ἐξοπλίζω* means 'arm fully'. The imperial Latin word *exarmare* means 'disarm', 'deprive', and it is in that sense that Appian uses the Greek verb. It is possible that Appian's usage reflects the usage of the word in military Greek rather than the influence of his Latin.³¹ But it does look as though bilingual processing has taken place: he expects that a military term may be a loan translation. It is difficult to go further and enquire about Appian's identity on this basis alone. A recent attempt to demonstrate Cassius Dio's Romanness on the grounds of his highly Latinizing placement of the direct object in his Greek shows the problem well enough: it fails to take account either of the historian's *Greekness* in many other areas (such as his clear *imitatio* of **(p.19)** Thucydides and his own belief that he was writing Attic, *Roman History* 55. 12. 5) or of the changed meaning of 'Roman' in his lifetime.³²

The culture of translation (as opposed to that of the individual translator) may also give us some very general guidance about the culture of bilingualism. In his discussion of the commissioning of the Septuagint (allegedly) by Ptolemy II Philadelphus Janse notes the concern of the translators to stay as close as possible to the original in order to safeguard the holiness of the text (below, pp. 338–46). The Diaspora Jews for whom the translation was made had quickly lost any real knowledge of Biblical Hebrew (which by Hellenistic times was in any case a fossilized literary dialect). On this account they needed a literal translation not only because the Hebrew was the word of God but also because they could not preserve contact with the original through a loose rendering

(which would make exegesis problematic). In societies with a balanced bilingualism translations are, of course, strictly unnecessary. The Roman élite of the Late Republic and Early Empire were able to read Greek literature well enough not to need a translation movement. Instead their own literature could employ extensive references to Greek literature which readers would recognize and appreciate. The peculiar, Graecized form of Syriac which is used for translations of Greek Christian material has been noted already in relation to Taylor's study below. An additional point may be made in this context. Until the fifth century translations from Greek into Syriac (again, mostly of Christian material) are in a non-literal, fairly idiomatic Syriac style. It may be suggested that the Syriac readers of these versions had enough Greek to be able to satisfy themselves as to the wording of the original—though not enough to read quantities of Greek on their own. The change to a word-for-word technique in which many Greek terms were taken over certainly constitutes deliberate interference designed to produce a theological tool: accurate knowledge of what was said by Greek rivals was needed. But this suggests another reason, namely that Greek was not as widely known as it had been formerly. If we go forward to the mid-seventh century and the Arab conquest of Syria, we may wonder if the Byzantines' rapid exit from the scene was not due to more than military failure and the religious alienation of the Semitic population (the usual reasons). The Arabic historians are unanimous in **(p.20)** holding that Greek culture no longer had a hold on the region. In his famous *Letter* about the translation of Galen into Arabic the ninth-century physician Hunain ibn Ishaq speaks about his and others' prior translation of Galen and other texts into Syriac. These translations were workaday versions for practical ends. They reveal that a lack of Greek even among Syrian physicians (whose medical theory was entirely Greek) was already felt by the early sixth century. We know that Greek continued in use in the chancelleries of the Islamic empire till it was abruptly replaced by Arabic in 706. This may be less a political-nationalist act than a recognition that Greek was no longer a lingua franca.³³ As for the Arabic versions of Greek medical and other texts, they are part of what we call the Graeco-Arabic translation movement of the eighth and ninth centuries. There was no Graeco-Arabic bilingualism. Indeed, there is no better example of an absence of bilingualism. Yet we may be sure that in other respects the Islamic Near East continued to be as rich in language contact as the Roman and that the message of this volume, that ancient societies were constantly interacting and developing through language, remained as true as it does today.

Notes:

(1) Neumann and Untermann (1980); Ceresa-Gastaldo (1981). Campanile, Cardona, and Lazzeroni (1988); BRixhe ((998); Blanc and Christol (1999).

(2) See Bibliography s.nn. Biville, Dubuisson, Dunkel, Rochette, Wenskus, and e.g. the essays collected in *ANRW* 11 29. 2 (1983).

- (3) e.g. Kaimio (1979); Dubuisson (1985); Biville (1990–5); Leiwo (1994); Rochette (1997); Famerie (1998).
- (4) To take a random example, two of the articles in the 1999 *Journal of Roman Studies* deal in part with aspects of bilingualism, and a bilingual dimension might be suggested for most of the other topics covered in the volume.
- (5) See in general Milroy and Muysken (1995*b*).
- (6) Milroy and Muysken (1995*b*) 7 (our italics).
- (7) Exceptions include Brown and Gilman (1989); McClure (1998); and Myers-Scotton (1998) pt. 11.
- (8) An ‘explicitly bilingual’ text mixes two languages in some way. An ‘implicitly bilingual’ text is on the face of it in a single language, but there is reason to think that another language played a part in its formation. A translation falls into this category, as does a text in one language but with heavy interference from another. In both cases the writer must have been bilingual (though in different degrees: a text with interference is likely to be the work of someone with imperfect competence in L₂.)
- (9) Note that Versteegh is writing at this point not explicitly about the relationship between different languages, but rather about that between different varieties of the same language.
- (10) Very little Latin is found at Palmyra; cf. below on Latin words in Syriac, n. 27.
- (11) See Meid (1983); Lejeune (1985; 1998).
- (12) Dorian (1989).
- (13) Cogan and Tadmor (1977).
- (14) Jos. *Ant.*, I. 121 καλλωπίσαντες τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κόσμον θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς οὗ αὐτὴν γεγονόσιν.
- (15) Cf. further Neumann (1980).
- (16) Cf. the remarks of Teixidor (1996) 22.
- (17) Macdonald (forthcoming).

(18) Note also and esp. the local signifier at *Fisherman* 19 *πευρατίδιος*. In Syriac the city of Edessa may be called *b[r]t prtwy* and *'rh' d-prtwy*, phrases usually translated as 'daughter of the Parthians' and 'Orhai [i.e. Edessa] of the Parthians', where *prtwy* is taken as an adjectival form of *prtw* 'Parthia'; but Sebastian Brock suggests to me that it might be better to translate as 'daughter/Orhai of the *Euphratenses*' (where the adjective would be derived from *prt*, 'Euphrates'), This would correspond to Lucian's hapax legomenon.

(19) Note that Lucian uses the Ionic form.

(20) Millar (1993) 247.

(21) Caquot (1955). Lucian would probably have pronounced *σημεῖον* as *sîmîon*.

(22) Millar (1993) 304ff. Our intention is not to undermine the achievements of this particular author, but to exemplify what we see as a fundamentally misguided approach.

(23) The tri radical *gbl* produces a number of forms in Semitic languages (Arabic, Syriac, Palestinian Jewish Aramaic) meaning 'mould', 'form', 'shape', 'create', as well as words to do with 'mountain' (cf. e.g. Arabic *jabal*).

(24) *After Marcus* 5. 3. 5 'They worship the stone as though it were sent from heaven, they point out certain small projections and markings, and they want to see in it an unworked representation of the sun.'

(25) Bisville (1992) 227.

(26) On the Romans and Greek see also Biville, below.

(27) Note that Latin words in Syriae in most cases came through Greek: cf. Brock (1996) 255.

(28) Though the latter is rare: Famerie (1998) 58.

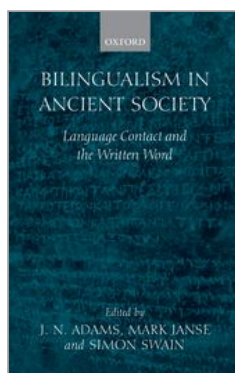
(29) Cf. *Mor*, 1010 D 'almost all men are familiar with [χρῶνται]' with Latin. On the diffusion of Latin in the Greek East see Daris (1991); Rochette (1997).

(30) On what follows see Famerie (1998) 213–39.

(31) Polybius had used the adjective *ἔξοπλος* in the sense of 'without armaments', 'unprotected' (3. 81. 2).

(32) Frischer *et al.* (1999).

(33) Cf. the contemporary evidence of Syriac Christian liturgical manuscripts, where Greek is written in Syriac characters; Sauget (1985).



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Approaching Bilingualism in Corpus Languages

D. R. LANGSLOW

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines a few of the more important themes, issues, and parameters in recent and current research on bilingualism. The focus is on corpus languages rather than ancient or classical languages because examples are drawn from, and apply to, medieval, early modern, and prehistoric as well as ancient languages, oriental as well as western, and substandard as well as standard — classical — varieties. The term ‘corpus language’ is preferred over ‘dead language’ because the latter need not arise through language death, and language death often yields not a dead language but no language at all. This chapter looks at bilingualism and diglossia, as well as bilingualism and biculturalism, language choice, interference, and bilingualism and language change.

Keywords: bilingualism, corpus languages, diglossia, biculturalism, language death, language choice, interference, language change

1. Introduction

MY aim here is modest and falls well short of a systematic review of the literature or history of the field. I propose merely to touch on a few of the more important themes, issues, and parameters in recent and current research on bilingualism, and to offer a few illustrations, mainly from, attested languages, nearly all from the published work of others, in the hope that this will suggest some of the potential that exists for fruitful interaction in this area between modern linguists and students of the ancient world.

My title refers to ‘corpus’ languages rather than ‘ancient’ or ‘classical’ languages, on the one hand, because my examples are drawn from, and apply to, medieval, early modern, and prehistoric as well as ancient languages, oriental as well as western, and substandard as well as standard—classical—varieties. I favour ‘corpus language’ over ‘*dead* language’, on the other hand, in order to avoid associations with the phenomenon of language death:¹ after all, dead languages need not arise through language death, and language death often yields not a dead language but no language at all. In a sense, corpus languages never die, and this brings in the third factor behind my use of the word ‘corpus’, namely the opportunity to suggest some of the points of contact between **(p.24)** modern corpus linguistics and the languages which particularly concern most, if not all, of the participants at the Reading conference. Of course, I am not suggesting that we are not at a disadvantage in not having living informants, but let us not forget that our corpus languages—and not only our largest corpora—permit significant linguistic, sociolinguistic, and historical inferences.²

In the history of the relevant fields of scholarship we find that students of the ancient world are no strangers to bilingualism. One thinks immediately of the Hellenist Dirk Hesseling (1859–1941),³ for example, or of the great Hugo Schuchardt (1842–1927), who began as a Latinist. As a result of their studies of languages in contact, both found it necessary to allow for more complex types of linguistic change than in the traditional approach. In his chapter on ureal linguistics in the great survey of linguistics of the 1970s, the Indo-Ettropeanist Werner Winter observed that ‘the inspection of a wide array of observations leads to the conclusion that in this field [i.e. language-contact studies] nearly everything can be shown to be possible but not much progress has been made toward determining what is probable’ (Winter 1973: 135). A prominent response to this challenge was the monograph of Joe Salmons (1992) on contact-induced accentual change, in which the languages in contact are at one stage more remote than corpus languages in being prehistoric, reconstructed, languages. In more strictly classical studies, one can point to early surveys of bilingualism and bilingual situations.⁴ Now, to judge from recent publications and new editions of the standard reference works, the interest of classicists in bilingualism is both broadening and deepening.⁵ Bilingualism is one of those subjects, like medicine, in which nearly every kind of specialist has an interest. To what extent students of living bilingualism may learn from studies of bilingualism in corpus languages **(p.25)** still remains an open question; as far as grammar-writing and history-writing of all sorts are concerned, however, there is evidently a two-way relationship, a mutually profitable interplay in this field.

From the ancient Near Eastern and Mediterranean worlds we have evidence, some documentary, some merely testimonial, of a very large number of languages,⁶ of which very few have survived. Some may have been ‘murdered’,⁷ but most will have ceased to have native speakers as a result of language shift, language decay, and language death,⁸ the starting-point in each case being language contact: that is to say, even in areas for which we have little more than testimonial evidence for linguistic diversity, we may infer a stage of widespread plurilingualism from the mere loss of, or decrease in, diversity.

In recent years, various views have been expressed as to the essential purpose and utility of studying bilingualism, some essentially grammatical, emphasizing the effects on the languages themselves, others fundamentally sociolinguistic, focusing rather on the languages in their social context and on the relationships between languages and speakers.⁹ Both approaches have proved valid and instructive, and the former has been afforded by recent work on code-switching within the sentence, which offers valuable insights for general syntactic theory, so that bilingualism, apart from bringing together anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists, attracts linguists—I mean hard-core grammarians—more than any other branch of sociolinguistics. With regard to corpus languages, bilingualism has evident importance for classicists with different sorts of interest in languages, as well as *our* anthropologists and sociologists, i.e. our social and cultural historians. Often, of course, we cannot say who is saying or writing what to whom in which language, when, where, and why: but in many cases we can, and from these cases we stand to learn not **(p.26)** only about the grammars of the languages in contact but also about aspects of the socio-cultural context of the document, such as education, citizenship, attitudes to various forms of language, and many others.

2. ‘Bilingualism’ and ‘Diglossia’

I begin with the terms ‘bilingualism’ and ‘diglossia’. Both have been used with various meanings but we may, I think, take as standard and conventional the use of ‘bilingualism’ to refer to ‘the alternate use of two or more languages’, and of ‘diglossia’ to denote the alternate use, according to a set of publicly acknowledged conventions, of a ‘High’ (‘H’) and a ‘Low’ (‘L’) variety of a single language, whereby H (be it Classical Arabic, standard German in Switzerland, or Katharevousa) is nobody’s first language. On this account,¹⁰ bilingualism and diglossia are two points on a single scale running from stylistic variation through diglossia to multilingualism.

A famous revision of this account is that of Fishman (1967), which I mention not only *honoris causa* but because it is instructive to compare the two approaches,¹¹ In Fishman's (rather idiosyncratic) formulation, the term 'diglossia' refers to the whole of Ferguson's continuum—that is, diglossia is any sort of linguistic variation, provided that it is related to *function* and is societal; bilingualism, on the other hand, refers to individuals' control of the varieties present in their speech community; diglossia, then, is public and societal, bilingualism private and individual, even psychological. On this basis, Fishman originally postulated four possible types of speech community, each showing either presence or absence of diglossia and bilingualism [$\pm D \pm B$], This model was criticized on the grounds *inter alia* that three of the four postulated types are in the real world rare or transitional, only [+ D + B] being commonly attested and stable.¹² In this context, however, one, very important, **(p.27)** set of cases of [+D -B] appears to have been overlooked, namely gender-specific varieties. This must concern us too as we approach bilingualism in corpus languages, as it so happens that what is probably our oldest evidence of a 'diglossic' situation (at least in Fishman's terms) involves a women's language, Sumerian Eme-sal.¹³

As the sample sentences in (1a) and (1b) illustrate, utterances in Eme-sal differ markedly from their equivalents in Eme-gir (standard Sumerian):¹⁴

- (1a) *Eme-sal*: mungur inula kttre banzeg
treasure accumulate PASS. PTC enemy LOC.TERM *ba-* VERBAL PREFIX *-n-*
AGENTINFIX give
Eme-gir: *niga gara kure bansmn
You have given the accumulated treasure to the enemy.
- (1b) *Eme-sal*: nag zeb dumunibtar
fate good *du-* SGA VOLITIVE *-mu-* VERBAL PREFIX *-in-* VERBAL INFIX *-b-* VERBAL
INFIX cut
Eme-gir: *nam dug gamunibtar
I will fix him a good fate.

The peculiarities of Eme-sal lie chiefly in the phonology¹⁵ and lexicon (several hundred items),¹⁶ while it has all of its syntax and nearly all of its morphology in common with Eme-gir. This grammatical state of affairs is typical of women's languages worldwide, as, for example, in the North American language of Gros Ventre (in the state of Montana).¹⁷ The use and distribution of Eme-sal in our Sumerian corpus, however, does not obviously align it with other women's languages: it is proper only to certain genres of cultic lyric poetry and to direct speech of women and goddesses in certain literary texts (also in lexical texts derived from the literary canon). Furthermore, the complexity of Sumerian society as we know it was probably not conducive to the development of a **(p. 28)** women's language of the sort with which we are familiar today. It may be that Eme-sal is an artificial relic of a much earlier state of affairs.

My first examples—from Sumerian (above) and Latin and Greek (n. 2)—have involved gender-specific varieties, and before I leave this topic, I wish to allude to a recent collection of essays on women and bilingualism (Burton, Dyson, and Ardener 1994) which argues against ‘ungendered accounts of bilingualism’ and calls for more work on the effects of gender on cross-linguistic influence. The standard view of women’s linguistic behaviour may be represented by Peter Trudgill’s report in his influential book on dialectology, that ‘the single most consistent finding to emerge from sociolinguistic studies over the past twenty years’ is that ‘women produce on average linguistic forms which more closely approach those of the standard language or have higher prestige than those produced by men’ (Trudgill 1983: 161–2).¹⁸ If this view may be true of monolingual societies, the situation in bilingual communities is more complex. For women may be excluded from bilingualism (note e.g. the reported Quechua contempt for women speaking Spanish), or be ‘guardians of the language’ (e.g. of Scots Gaelic and Breton), or hasten its decline (e.g. in the case of Provencal, or of Hungarian in Austria).¹⁹ In general it emerges that women’s language choices can play an especially potent role in the conservation or the death of a language.

3. Bilingualism and Biculturalism: Scripts and Personal Names

I turn from one set of continua to another: bilingualism and biculturalism. This is the central theme of at least one essay in this collection (that of Swain), and I attempt no new thesis here. I wish rather merely to show how even the poorest linguistic record may illustrate the obvious but important observation that language use and language choice are affected by cultural and political objects.

(p.29) Two such objects which are inextricably intertwined with language use are education and citizenship, and these are closely reflected in two phenomena on which we are reasonably well informed in even the most scrappily attested or poorly understood corpus languages: I mean personal names and writing convention.

3.1. Gaulish and Latin

The Latin—Gaulish bilingual inscription from Vercelli (2) reports the dedication of a piece of a land by a speaker of Gaulish, Akisios Argantokomaterekos. The cultural and religious background to the inscription seems to be Celtic and his name is represented in its Celtic form in both Latin and Gaulish versions:²⁰

(2) *Latin*: finis | campo. quern | dedit. *Acisius* | *Argantocomater* | *ecus*.
 comunem | deis. et. hominib|us, ita uti lapides | iiii. statuti sunt |
Gaulish: AKISIOS. ARKATOKO{K}MATEREKOS, TO[-]O| KOT[-]A|TOM
 TEUOψ|TONI[O]N EU

The Todi bilingual (3), on the other hand, shows neatly how language, script, and name-form may go perfectly hand in hand:

(3) side ‘L’:

Latin: [ategnati] | [drut]i [.]f[. traces] | [c]oisis [.] druti. f | frater, eius |
 [m]inimus. Iocau[i]<t> | [st]atuitqu<e> |
Gaulish: [AT]EKNATI TRUTI[K]NI | [KARJNITU. LOKAN. KO[I]SIS |
 [TR]UTIKNOS
 side 'A':
Latin: [ategnatei. dru]||[tei f] | [coi]sis [drutei f. frater |eius | minimus,
 locau|it, et, statuit |
Gaulish: ATEKNATI. TRUT|I KNI. KARNITU |ARTUAŠKOI-SIS T|
 RUTIKNOS

The late Ategnatos Drutiknos is commemorated by his youngest brother, Kois, with the Gaulish form of his name in Gaulish letters and Gaulish language but with a Latin version of the patronymic (*Druti f (ilius) = TRUTIKNOS* 'son of Drutos') when the language and alphabet are Latin.

(p.30) One striking feature of both inscriptions is that the Latin version is **first** and longer but represents a translation, not the original,²¹ which may suggest that the author's first language is probably Gaulish. Most of the context of both inscriptions eludes us but that Gaulish is LI would chime with one thing that we can infer **with** certainty, namely that neither **Akisios** nor either of the sons of **Drutos** was a Roman citizen. For citizenship brought with it the requirement to take a 'proper' Roman name consisting of at least two elements: (1) an individual praenomen chosen from the small closed set of *Roman* praenomina, each with, its conventional abbreviation in writing,²² and (2) a *gentilicium* in *-ius*, which would then stay in the family, being inherited by successive generations; (there was the option of a third element, the *cognomen*, the form of which was much freer). The *gentilicium* originated in the patronymic derived (as an adjective in *-ius*) from, the father's individual name, and in official written form at least your father's name had still to be recorded, **immediately** after your *praenomen*, in the form abbreviated *praenomen+f. (for filius 'son')*.²³

As we see in the Latin—Gaulish **bilinguals**, if you are not a Roman citizen, you may leave your name alone, even when writing in Latin (as at Vercelli, (2) above), or you may translate it in a limited way into Roman form (as in the brothers' patronymic at Todi, (3) above, Druti f.). Even as a Roman citizen, you could retain very clearly the elements **of** your Gaulish name by exploiting the option **of** the *cognomen*. This is nicely illustrated in (4), in the form in which the Gaul Ambudsuilos, son **of** Antestas, is represented after receipt of the Roman franchise (CIL iii, 4274 (**Greifenburg**)):

(4) **C. Antestius Ambudsuilus.**²⁴

Here he has reversed the order of his given name and patronymic and changed the suffix on the patronymic, and he has added the (arbitrarily chosen?) *praenomen* Gains (abbr. C.) He has thereby **(p.31)** achieved the obligatory Roman name but one that is thoroughly un-Roman. If this retention of evident foreignness suited Ambud-suilos, it did not suit all bilingual recipients of the Roman franchise, and it may be of interest to compare the ways in which two other speech communities approached the problem, of Romanizing your name and keeping it too.

3.2. Etruscan and Latin

In the case of Etruscan, we can see the gradual ousting of the native, pre-Roman epigraphic tradition, as first writing, then language, and finally onomastics give way to Roman conventions. The 28²⁵ Latin—Etruscan bilinguals presently known (plus 6 digraphic) are all funerary, all from, the first century BC, and all from, northeast Etruria, an area which received the franchise in 90 BC; they all consist entirely of personal names. In many cases, as e.g. in (5), the names appeared completely different (Ar. 1. 3):²⁶

(5) Cn. Laberius A. f | Pom
a. haprni a | axratinalisa

so that one may be forgiven for having wondered whether the texts really referred each to a single person. Well, the archaeology and social-cultural background practically required it—that is, it was difficult to accommodate the hypothesis of pairs of individuals, Roman—Etruscan couples at that, sharing funerary inscriptions in this way—and it was a relief to find at least one inscription, as in (6), which obviously named the same individual twice, in Etruscan and in Latin (Pe. 1. 313):

(6) *pup velimna au cahatial*
P. Volumnius. A.f. Violens | Cafatia. natus.

The question then became for all the other inscriptions: how did these new Etruscan-speaking Roman citizens come by their new Latin names?

The answer that emerged is that they (nearly all) show to varying degrees retention of the old (Etruscan) in the new (Latin). With **(p.32)** reference to the twentieth century, Gerhardt (1956) showed sets of regularities for ‘translating’ Russian names into western European contexts and Mix (1956) established similar rules for the Latinization of Etruscan names.²⁷ Essentially, the Etruscans commemorated by our bilinguals chose one of four options for forming a new Roman (or Etruscan) *gentilicium*: they either (1) took an existing Latin name that corresponded etymologically to the Etruscan (11 exx., e.g. Cl. 1. 2552 *trepī*→*Trebius*, Pe. 1. 313 *velimna*→*Volutnnius*, as in (6) above); (2) selected an existing Latin name which had some sort of assonance with the Etruscan (7 exx., e.g. Cl. 1. 858, 859 *arntni*→*Arrius*, Ar. 1. 3 *haprni*→*Laberius*, as in (5) above); (3) if the phonology allowed easy accommodation, i.e. if the pronunciation presented no problems, an Etruscan name would be transliterated into Latin (4 exx., e.g. Ar. 1. 9 *fulni*→*Folnius*) or vice versa, a Latin name assumed and then transliterated into Etruscan (4 exx., e.g. Cl. 1. 220 *Fabius*→*fapi*); or (4) translated the lexical base of the Etruscan into Latin so that this was contained in an existing Latin name (1 ex., Cl. 1. 320 *zicu* [based on the Etruscan for ‘to write’²⁸] → *Scribonius*).²⁹

Notice that only (3) involves the addition of new forms to the Latin/Etruscan inventory. In other words, only 4 of our 26 Etruscans have forced their names into a striking new Latin form in the blatant manner of Ambudsuilos son of Antestas (ex. (4) above). The other 22 give every appearance of being ordinary Latin names of thoroughly Roman citizens. There will certainly have been a cultural and political dimension corresponding to this linguistic assimilation.

3.3. Venetic and Latin

Option (2) above, i.e. the selection of a new name that sounds in some way like the old, is of further interest in the context of the death of the pre-Roman languages of Italy in contact with Latin, as **(p.33)** we turn to our third small corpus-language, Venetic.³⁰ The Venetic material is especially rich for the period of transition from pre-Roman to Roman and, although we know very little of the Venetic language, we are well informed on writing conventions, language use, and personal names. There are at least two stages in this transition from a purely Venetic to a purely Latin record in this area. As often, writing conventions are the first to change so that we see the native (North Etruscan) alphabet and (Etruscan) syllabic punctuation (as in (7a)) yield to the Latin alphabet in texts that still use Venetic names, formulae, and language, as in (7b); in a second stage (7c) we see elements of Roman onomastics, names, and formulae beginning to intrude, although the language remains Venetic; finally, (7d), with Roman citizenship the Roman naming formula becomes standard with ever-decreasing use of Venetic personal names and language,³¹

- (7a) (*inherited*) Es 91³². u.ko. e..n.no.n.s. (nom.). Lejeune (1974), 75^{ter}
 vhonteï ersinioï (dat.) (Venetic alphabet; with the name-types compare
 Greek *Aĩ as T ελμώνιος* Gaulish *Koisis Trutiknos*)
 (7b) (*mixed stage 1*) Es 108: *Lemonei Ennomoi* (dat.) (Latin alphabet but
 purely Venetic forms and formula)
 (7c) (*mixed stage 2*) Es 110: *Primai Rutiliai Lemetornai*, Es XLI *Nerca*
Vanticconis f. (mixed forms and formulae)
 (7d) (*Roman*) Es VII: *Vanti Enonio Ti. f.*, Es II *M. Ennio Graici f.*, Es
 XXXVII *T. Ennius Pf.*

A striking feature of the final stage is the rarity of recognizable Venetic names. The Venetic given name *Enno* forms the adjectival patronymic *Ennonius* (as in (7b)) but this is found serving as a ‘Roman’—but in fact very *un-Roman*—*gentilicium* only once in our record (7d), while the thoroughly Roman *Ennius* is very common at Este, for example, and generally in those areas which were granted the *ius Latii*, by Cn. Pompeius Strabo in 89 BC, *Ennius* appearing and flourishing as Venetic *Enno* disappears. When the material is presented in this way, the inference seems obvious: this is another **(p.34)** case of deliberate name reception by bilingual or formerly bilingual families adopting name-forms from, the new LI, which yet retain an echo of names of the dying or dead L2. The names of the many Aemilii, Ennii, Rutilii, Titinii who suddenly appear in the Venetic area in the first century BC give the appearance of immigrant Romans, but their burial patterns, marriage alliances, and some individual names indicate old local families, which is probably what they were, retaining in their banal new *gentilicia* perhaps no more than a syllable of the given name of their forebears, Aimos, Enno, Titos,³³

And finally, before we leave Venetic, a glance at a Venetic—Latin bilingual, which brings together some of the points suggested above about writing and names in bilingual and bicultural situations. The inscription, schematically reproduced in (8) (Es 27 in Pellegrini and Prosdoeimi 1967), is on one of a series of bronze representations of writing-tablets dedicated to the Venetic goddess of writing, Reitia. Two languages, two alphabets and, most strikingly, two systems for the teaching of writing appear on the tablet:

- (8) →[vda.]n[.] vo.l.t.[iio.n.]mno.s. [do]na.s.to ke la.g.[s.
 ↓ to śa.i.]nate.i. re.i.tiia.i. o.p. [vo].l.tiio len[o]
 [D]O[NOM] DEDIT LIBENS MERITO
 [---] kn ran ml sr sl bl gr g[-]
 [---] n r n pr br śl śn tr
 [AXBVCTDSE]RFQGP H O I N K M [L

The dedicator's name, *Voltiommnos*, is thoroughly Venetic and the Venetic sentence in the top two lines of (8)³⁴ shows a correct use of the (originally Etruscan) convention of separating off by dots letters which do not belong to syllables of the form C(R)V. Moreover, the fragment of the Latin alphabet on the edge of the tablet has the letters in a bizarre order and these three points could be taken to imply a rudimentary knowledge of Latin writing habits; the Latin dedication formula (in the third line in (8) above) is perfect but could easily have been copied, and is no evidence at all of **(p.35)** knowledge of the language. On the other hand, the Venetic consonant clusters (in the two lines below the Latin dedication) are 'wrong': we know this because these clusters are an integral part of these dedicatory writing-tablets, where it emerges that the proper pattern involves listing all permitted unpunctuated consonant clusters in a consistent order (e.g. *Cl, Cn, Cr*), proceeding through the consonants in alphabetical order. Are we then to infer that both writing systems, the newcomer Latin and the native Venetic, have been imperfectly learnt in this case? Perhaps, but then again perhaps not. You may be wondering, as I did when I first saw this inscription, on what basis the missing letters of the Latin alphabet are restored. We owe the restoration to Prosdocimi (1983: 95–8), who noticed that the order of the surviving letters is that achieved by listing the letters from both ends of the alphabet in turn (first, last, second, second last, third, third last, etc.). Why should anyone do such a thing? Perhaps the key is to be found in a passage of Quintilian on the teaching of the alphabet: 'teachers reverse the order of the letters or rearrange them in every kind of combination, until their young pupils learn to know the letters from their appearance and not from the order in which they occur' (Quint. *Inst.* 1.1. 25). Perhaps the order of the Latin letters is actually a sign of proficiency, which would compare favourably with the knowledge displayed of the Venetic counterpart, the consonant clusters. It was observed above that in the process of language shift (at least in the written record) personal names are affected last and alphabets and writing conventions first. This tablet may illustrate the latter point particularly well—and poignantly, too, for one of the first things one learns about the Veneti is that they had a writing school with an associated cult, and it is poignant to find a hint that Roman teaching methods were introduced, possibly in place of native techniques, while student scribes still had Venetic names and wrote Venetic.

Perhaps we are misled, missing crucial information. But these fragmentary inscriptions from small corpus languages at least raise questions and plausible historical answers about choice of language, script, and form of self-reference when a dominant second culture appears on the scene.

(p.36) 4. Code-Switching

The illustrations above from Gaulish, Etruscan, and Venetic could be said to show instances of code-switching. The switch in each case occurs between utterances, and in most of the examples above the utterance given in the one language is simply repeated in the other. This is a common function of code-switching, although of course switching between different utterances is more frequent, and we shall see some examples of this shortly. I turn first to the opposite extreme, as it were, i.e. to code-switching within the utterance. This phenomenon perhaps more than any other aspect of bilingual behaviour brings together functional or social linguists and grammarians—those with a more strictly formal interest in language.³⁵ There is some interesting recent work on formal constraints on code-switching—on potential and prohibited switching sites—and on the contributions that these can make to grammatical theory, although it needs to be added that these initiatives are still controversial and there appear to be counter-examples to all the constraints so far proposed.³⁶ I am, not aware of similar work on corpus languages, though at least in the first two corpora to be glanced at there is plenty of material for grammarians to consider.

4.1. Latin and Middle English

To begin with an instance of code-switching in the late Middle Ages, take the following extract from a fifteenth-century Latin–Middle English macaronic sermon:³⁷

(9) In isto lucido celo Ecclesie is corpus perfectum **be nurchinge sunne** curatorum **with his bemis al brennynge**. In isto est eciam mater **and** swccur noctis, be variand tmome diuitum in brixtaes al schynyng. Et in isto celo est planeta **ful brix**t Mercurius, **of smale vitrileris ful besy in metiynge**.

In this shining heaven of the church is the perfect body of **the nourishing sun** of parish priests, **all afire with its beams**. In it is also **(p.37)** the mother and succour of the night, the changing moon of the rich all shining in brightness. And in this heaven is a planet full bright, Mercury, of small victuallers who are full busy in action.

Here, and in the dozens of similar extant sermons, the *communis opinio* is that this is not code-switching but inconstant alio-glottography—I did not invent that word: Ilya Gershevitch did, in which context we shall see shortly. In other words, the standard view of the linguistic reality behind these macaronic sermons is that they were recorded in Latin, the official language of the clergy, with vernacular expressions being used either when the wording was particularly important or through ignorance of the Latin, but that they were delivered in their entirety in Latin to the clergy, in the vernacular to the laity. Against this, Wenzel points out that many properly macaronic sermons³⁸ are addressed to the clergy, and that their texture and the nature of the language mix that they employ are not at all suggestive of a compromise between traditional requirements and ignorance of Latin: in other words, the writers appear to be fluently bilingual and to possess a high level of intelligence and clerical training. In addition to such internal considerations, Wenzel can point also—at least for the continent of Europe, whence similar sermons survive—to explicit testimonia to mixed-language delivery of sermons.³⁹

In order to show that these sermons are not isolated—and that our notorious Anglo-Saxon bias to monolingualism is not from time immemorial—I offer a second set of cases involving Middle English. A second domain showing widespread language mixture—including code-switching—in fifteenth-century England is that of scientific and medical writing. As Linda Voigts puts it (Voigts 1989: 95), this was a period of transition, in which in these fields neither language held sway and language mixture was ubiquitous. Some of this switching occurs at major boundaries within a text and seems to be related to topic, so that one finds, for example, the aetiology of diseases or spells and charms written out in Latin, while recipes **(p.38)** are given in Middle English; at other times the language changes within the sentence, as in (10) and (11):⁴⁰

(10) *an alchemical process*) To make chyuerel hastily as yn ii oures or iii, tak alym water & put perynne pyn parchemen ut aqua sit tepidus & let ht drinke.,

(11) *a zodiacal calendar*) Januare the xiiii kalends regnat aquartus feuerer the xv kalends regnat pisscis veer ys calidus & hwmidus Marcus the xiii kalends regnat aries Aprilis the xii [the] kalends regnat taurus ...

although, differently from the case of the macaronic sermons (above), it is unclear, first, whether this code-switching is deliberate or inadvertent and, secondly, what the spoken linguistic reality behind the texts might have been.

4.2. Latin and Greek

These fifteenth-century English writers are slipping into and out of the older standard medium of expression. If we go back a thousand years or more to the late Roman Empire, this standard language of medicine was Greek and the ‘vernacular’, if you like, in the west of the Empire was Latin. Do we find analogous (Latin-Greek) code-switching in medical texts composed by Latin-speakers? Yes, we do, but, above the level of the word, from, the hundreds, if not thousands, of pages of Latin medical texts that survive from antiquity, I am aware only of the example in (12) (Pelagonius, *Ars ueterinaria* (4th cent, AD) 268. 3-4):⁴¹

(12) faeit etiam et haec potio; piperis grana X, cedriae ut supra pondus, nitri ὀλκήν unam, ὅπου Κυρηναϊκοῦ κυάμος μέγεθος haec omnia terito singula et in unum misceto, addito et olei hem. et uini summi sext., inde bis in die potionas. multi etiam hoe prodesse dixerunt, sanguinem bubulum recentem per cornu in fauces infundere. sane si sanguis ad horam non fuerit inuentus, λιβανωτοῦ ὀλκάς tres, sales ipsius ponderis cum uino dabis,

I say ‘above the level of the word’, for of course there are, on the other hand, countless Greek medical terms in Latin texts, at various stages of integration into the Latin terminology. What would **(p.39)** amount to code-switching at this level would be the systematic use of Greek inflection on Greek words (in Greek or Latin letters). There is certainly some interesting work to be done on this matter. It is of course made difficult by the hazards of manuscript tradition, but it is an important point for editors to bear in mind in deciding how to represent Greek words in Latin texts.

5. Language Choice

Language choice, the (conscious or unconscious) decision to code-switch, whether from language to language or, say, from H to L, is classically related to the 'domain' of language use (whether with reference to the interlocutor, the location, or the topic, or to a combination of all three).⁴² Probably the best-known set of domains postulated as being apt to determine language choice goes back to Fishman, Cooper, and Ma (1971) and contains five items: family, friendship, religion, employment, and education. Fishman, however, sounded early on in his opening up of this field of enquiry an important warning (Fishman 1964: 49–51) to the effect that no such 'low-level' list is universal or even necessarily cross-cultural, and that it is essential to re-establish empirically domains of language use for each bilingual community studied. This relativist observation is borne out in some of the old anecdotes about polyglot individuals or communities (the following examples from Spolsky 1985: 38): the emperor Charles V is said to have spoken Castilian to God, German to his horses, French in council meetings, and Italian in salon conversation; Grill-parzer, the Austrian poet, however, used Italian for talking of music, French for polite conversation, Greek for philosophy, and Latin for rhetoric; while the Jerusalem Talmud commends Latin for war, Greek for song, Aramaic for dirges, and, rather nicely, Hebrew for speaking. Notice that in these instances, as in the specialist literature, domain is defined sometimes more in terms of interlocutor and sometimes rather in terms of topic or subject-matter.

(p.40) An alternative way of describing and accounting for language choice in multilingual communities is in terms of 'preference rules'.⁴³ In the context of corpus languages, this approach has been used in an interesting way by Bernard Spolsky, in his essay in what he calls 'historical sociolinguistics' (Spolsky 1985). Here he attempts to reconstruct from various sources for various speech communities spoken and written use of Aramaic, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin in first-century Palestine. I will not reproduce or comment on his specific hypotheses concerning language choice in the stated historical setting,⁴⁴ but I set out his preference rules in (13) below, both as an illustration of this device of sociolinguistics and as a way of interrogating a puzzling case of apparently inconsistent language choice from Roman Egypt around AD 115.

- (13) Preference rules: prefer to use the language that
- (1) you know best for the topic concerned;
 - (2) you believe your interlocutor knows best for the topic concerned;
 - (3) you used the last time you addressed this person;
 - (4) includes/excludes a third party;
 - (5) asserts the most advantageous social-group membership in the interaction.

The puzzle just now referred to concerns language choice in the archive of letters received by Claudius Tiberianus from, his son, Claudius Terentianus.⁴⁵ The Latin letters are particularly well known to Latintsts as one of our chief sets of primary documents in Vulgar Latin.⁴⁶ Considering the domestic linguistic background to the letters, Adams (1977: 2 ff., 84 ff.) suggests that the father, Tiberianus, was a Latin-speaker who emigrated to Lgypt and there learnt Greek and married a Greek speaker, so that the son, Terentianus, was brought up bilingually; his Latin is fluent and vulgar and probably shows some Greek interference in both vocabulary and syntax. This hypothesis is highly plausible and explains much: but it does not explain why Terentianus writes letters to his father first in Latin and then later in G reek. Various possibilities suggest themselves both a priori and by modern literature **(p.41)** on language-choice strategies. In this connection we might consider again the set of preference rules in (13) above. Clearly, rule (3) does not always apply to this father—son relationship, but rule (4) may be relevant, if the mother was monolingual: might the Greek letters have been intended to include her, or the Latin to exclude her? The Greek letters are written later, after the father has left the arm)’ and the son has become a soldier: could the son’s language choice have to do with the father’s position in the army—the Latin letters identifying with this, the Greek distancing the army after the father’s discharge? Or was it rather that Terentianus’ ambition to join the army caused him to make the effort to speak and write Latin only until he is successful, whereupon he lapses back into the language in which he is more comfortable? Either of these would illustrate the operation of rule (5), as would, perhaps, the fact that Greek, the language of the home, and his mother’s language, is used for writing to his father about some business (esp. 477, 480) and on a matter of some delicacy (476, the introduction of a woman into the household). The problem is not to be solved here but it is of interest that with reference to the Tibertanus archive we can have some clear reactions, for or against, to these five specimen preference rules. Rule (5) seems most plausibly applicable, (4) possibly; (3) is excluded, and rules (1) and (2) are probably irrelevant too, as both father and son seem to be equally at home in Latin and Greek—although the linguistic competence of available scribes may have been decisive.⁴⁷

That even the obvious-sounding rule (2) will not always apply is indicated by Pliny’s famous comment on Greek as *the* written language of medicine in mid-first-century Rome:⁴⁸ ‘nay, if medical treatises are written in a language other than Greek, they have no prestige even among unlearned men ignorant of Greek, and they have less faith in what concerns their own health if they can understand’. This amounts in fact to a clear statement of the *converse* of preference rule 2.

(p.42) 6. Interference

I remain with medicine for a moment longer as I move on to three brief illustrations of one more aspect of choosing and switching between available languages, interference. Interference is closely related to both code-switching and borrowing. Indeed, it has been said that a borrowing is a successful piece of interference, successful in that it has been sanctioned by the speech community. The sort of examples of interference presented in the literature can easily give the impression that, unlike code-switching, which is an obvious formal matter involving foreign items, interference involves foreign arrangements of semantic and syntactic structures. This is not necessarily so. Interference can be of L1 with L2⁴⁹ or of L2 with L1: I give one example of each.

6.1. L1 with L2: Greek with Latin?

Theodoras Priscianus practised as a doctor around AD 400 in Roman Africa, where he wrote several books on medicine in both Greek and Latin, of which only some of the Latin survive. Whether or not Theodorus was more at home in Greek than in Latin,⁵⁰ his Latin is striking, to say the least, and I suspect that Greek has interfered with his Latin in numerous points, among them his use of the verb *immineo*, *-ēre*, of which the following instances are typical:

- (14) P. 55. 3 Rose: *gargarismatio ex speciebus stypticis confecto tepido imminebimus*
 p. 90. 16: *nam et Musae trochisco, imminuimus et profecimus*
 p. 114, 2: *tunc acerbis adiutoriis ptarmicorum imminere nos conueniet*
 p. 144, 23: *tunc is catholicis adiutoriis imminendum est*

In each the subject is the doctor and the ablative noun phrase (also **(p.43)** italicized) is to be understood as an instrumental: the doctor *imminet* with medicament such-and-such. The use is noted in the *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae*,⁵¹ which tentatively suggests that the verb means ‘to help’ (i.e. the patient with some remedy), and cites only Theodorus. The only other account of this use of which I am aware takes it to mean ‘to threaten’ and hence ‘to get rid of’.⁵²

A clue to the true meaning of *immineo* in Theodorus is found in his use of the same verb in a different context, namely at p. 44. 13 *polypi’s itajite imminenlibus*, where it is clear from the context that the polyps are not impending but already present and that *immi-nentibus* must mean ‘if they are persistent*’. A similar meaning is confirmed for Theodorus’ therapeutic examples with instrumental ablative by comparison with Imperial and Late Greek medical prose, where in identical contexts one frequently finds the verb ἐπμένειν with an instrumental dative meaning ‘to continue, persevere, with’ a form of treatment.⁵³ This bizarre use of Latin looks, then, very much like a simple morph-for-morph translation (calque) of an idiom which Theodorus will have used frequently in Greek, ἐπι- + μένω + dat. → in- + maneo + abl.

6.2. L2 with L1: Latin with Greek?

My second example—of supposed L2 interference with LI—is less secure but famous and important. It concerns the influence of Latin on the Greek of the Achaean historian Polybius (c.200—c.118 BC), who was either in Rome or in close Roman company for many years from 168. Michel Dubuisson, the author of the definitive study of the Latin of Polybius (Dubuisson 1985), adduces some striking items of vocabulary, perhaps most famously Polybius' name for the Mediterranean, *ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς θάλαττα* '*mare nostrum*', but his most telling examples involve syntax and morphosyntax and include Polybius' use of the accusative of the reflexive + infinitive (for classical nom, + infin.: cf. Latin *se* + infin.),⁵⁴ the dative of time **(p.44)** within which (for classical gen.: cf. Latin abl.),⁵⁵ the dative of relation (for classical ace: cf. Latin abl.),⁵⁶ the use of the connective relative,⁵⁷ confusion of aorist and perfect and frequent use of the pluperfect, extension of the use of *ὅσα* (to match the uses of Latin *ut*), etc. etc. The parallels with Latin are certainly numerous and striking but their ascription to Latin interference in the Greek of an individual will always be open to doubt, given the dearth of surviving Greek prose between Theophrastus and Polybius, and given the fact that some of Dubuisson's supposed interference phenomena (e.g. the connective relative) are found in later Greek, notably in the New Testament. They may well rather be early instances of a two-way convergence of the Latin and Greek languages in the Roman and Imperial periods.⁵⁸ Still, Dubuisson's hypothesis of *linguistic* interference cannot be disproved, and he has some impressive examples which cannot be paralleled in other Greek texts; with the second part of his thesis, however (cf. Dubuisson 1985: 8), that Polybius was not only Latinized in language but also Romanized in his mentality and conceptions, which takes us back to the continuum of bilingualism and biculturalism (cf. Section 3 above), most reviewers expressed dissent, with varying degrees of vigour.⁵⁹

6.3. Elamite with Old Persian

My final example of interference is a rather special case, which introduces the alloglottography alluded to above (Section 4.1). This time the *communis opinio* is—or was—*against* alloglottography and for taking things at their face value. It concerns the Elamite alloglottography of Old Persian, ‘Alloglottography’ is Gershevitch’s coinage for the use of one language (call it L1) to represent an utterance in another language (L2), in the Old Persian case in such a way that the original utterance in L2 can be accurately and unambiguously **(p.45)** recovered from the document in L1.⁶⁰ The bilingual speakers in this case are the Elamite civil servants of the Achaemenid dynasty of the Persian Empire, who are taken to have communicated in Old Persian with their masters. On any account it is striking that Old Persian cuneiform is known only from, monumental inscriptions, while on the clay tablets of the associated administrative archives only Elamite (a non-Indo-European language) is found. It is likely that very few individuals could ever write, or even read, Old Persian cuneiform. Possibly the script was specially invented for Darius, and probably Darius himself could not read it.⁶¹ On Gershevitch’s reconstruction of the linguistic acts lying behind the Old Persian inscriptions, the latter are ‘retranslations’ of Elamite. That is to say, bilingual scribes render and read back the King’s Old Persian dictation in Elamite so written that the original spoken Old Persian can be precisely read back from it. Once Darius was satisfied with the version read back to him, the ‘recording’ in Elamite would be transcribed into Old Persian cuneiform and then inscribed.

For a reconstruction of this sort, Elamite interference with Old Persian is about the best supporting evidence one could wish for. The scribes, however, did their job very well, and there is very little recognizable interference in the Old Persian texts that we know. But there is some. One item concerns the Elamite particle *ak*, which either means ‘and’ or acts as a paragraph opener. The Old Persian for ‘and’ is either the enclitic *-ca* (= Latin *-que*) or *uta*, which like Latin *et* goes before the word(s) that it adds. ‘A and B’ would usually be *A B-ca* but could be *A-ca B-ca*, with repetition of *-ca*. The notorious sequence on the Bisitun inscription, which runs (schematically) *A B-ca C-ca with-D-ca* ‘A and B and C and with D’, is brilliantly explained by Gershevitch as a mechanical ‘retranslation’ of the Elamite ‘recording’ *A ak B ak C ak with-D*, which represented the Old Persian dictated utterance *A-ca B-ca C-ca with-D*. That the correct representation of ‘and’ was a recognized problem in ‘Elamography’ is further implied **(p.46)** by the emergence of the Elamite ‘ideogram’ *kudda*. There is no Elamite word of this form. Rather, *kudda* (from *ak* ‘*udda*’) means ‘for this occurrence of *ak* “and”, use the Old Persian word *uta* (and not *-ca*)’!

If the reconstruction of the Elamite alloglottography of Old Persian still rests more on brilliant conjecture than on hard evidence of clear interference from the 'recording' language, Gershevitch's scenario is entirely plausible given (a) that from the mid-fifth century BC we have clear evidence of the use of the 'Aramaeog-raphy' of Old Persian, using a very widely known language as the written medium,⁶² and (b) this yields in turn (second century BC) to Aramaic ideography of several Middle Iranian languages.⁶³

7. Bilingualism and Language Change

I alluded above to the range of views ventured by scholars on the essential point of studying bilingualism. To those quoted above I now add that of Einar Haugen in his review of Uriel Weinreich's *Languages in Contact* (Weinreich 1953), since it serves as a fitting introduction to this closing section. Haugen writes (1954: 380), 'The study of bilingualism is essentially the study of the consequences of second-language learning.' Now, one of the (probably universal) consequences of second-language learning, whether at individual or societal level, is language change. I hinted at this earlier by saying that code-switching and interference are continuous with borrowing; and, in a sense, this section is really about borrowing.

The present section is in many ways the most important of the paper, given our focus on corpus languages, because it bears on the fundamental question of whether we can legitimately do linguistic reconstruction, whether in historical or pre-historical periods, and consequently whether inferences about earlier language-states and configurations may serve as valid evidence for history-writing. For linguists it bears on the no less fundamental questions: Is there **(p. 47)** such a thing as a language? Does the field of linguistics have an object of study?

The neat, layered branchings characteristic of tree diagrams of language families have been taken to say that at least some-part of language is homogeneous and immune from outside influence. Certainly, critics of traditional historical-comparative linguistics have inferred this as a claim of the ‘family tree’ model, and, it is true, some Indo-Europeanists in the past were prepared to maintain this.⁶⁴ For an extreme ease, take the views of Friedrich Max Muller (1823–1900),⁶⁵ that ‘*there is no mixed language*’ and that ‘it may be useful to recognize Celtic, Norman, Greek and Latin in the English *vocabulary*, “but not a single drop of foreign blood has entered into the organic system of the English language” ’. Of course, as Morpurgo Davies notes (1998), 198, to deny the existence of mixed grammars is one way of guaranteeing the validity of the tree model of genetic relationships between languages. Equally, however, it leaves no room—or precious little—for contact between speakers of different languages, and yet linguistic historians are as much concerned with language-external factors in language change (borrowing, essentially) as with purely internally conditioned developments. There followed the Neogrammarian postulate, serving to put the tree diagram on a different and more scientific footing, that sound change, unlike other types of linguistic change, is overwhelmingly regular in its application.

In contrast, Hugo Schuchardt, while sharing with August Leskien, the guru of the Neogrammarians, the belief that linguists were scientists, rejected the view, implied in the Neogrammarian postulate, that language, or a language, is an object amenable to study separately from its speakers, sociology, and cultural history:⁶⁶ this was on the basis of his work, including much fieldwork, on an astonishing number and variety of languages and varieties of language, from Vulgar Latin (the subject of his dissertation (Schuchardt 1866–8)) to pidgins and Creoles, varieties which are now the chief object of study of a major field of linguistics, of which field Schuchardt is essentially the founder. In seemingly irreconcilable contrast with the view of language avowed or implied by Neogrammarian historical (p.48) linguistics and comparative reconstruction, for Schuchardt ‘*each language is a mixture of languages*. There is no such thing as the coherent dialect envisaged by the Neogrammarians... change spreads from individual to individual but the various features spread in different directions, at different times and in different manners ... *it is also difficult to draw a line between adjacent but unrelated languages*’.⁶⁷ While Schuchardt regarded typological comparison of languages as legitimate, indeed desirable, he saw any attempt at genetic classification as futile, since in his view every describable linguistic feature was as relevant to the genesis of a language as every other.⁶⁸

Happily, a century later, there is a considerable measure of agreement between, on the one hand, social-historical linguists working on variation and change as functions of contact between (bilingual) speakers of different varieties and, on the other, historians of particular languages or language families. The former concede that external factors are not the whole story in linguistic change, that allowance must be made also for 'natural', grammar-internal, factors;⁶⁹ the latter allow that high levels of language-contact will tend to yield: (1) the transfer ('borrowing') of almost any kind of linguistic item,⁷⁰ and (2) always similar sorts of innovation,⁷¹ both effects quickly undermining the feasibility of linguistic reconstruction.

On the traditional view of language contact,⁷² either the 'top' or the 'bottom,' language survives, showing more or less profound substratal or superstratal influence. Schuchardt and others showed the existence and established the importance of pidgin and Creole languages. We must now not only acknowledge and reckon with **(p.49)** the existence of numerous other types and subtypes of languages, in addition to pidgins, Creoles, and 'normal' languages,⁷³ but also face the challenges and opportunities of recognizing 'exotic' language types close to home, in the territory of traditional historical-comparative linguistics. Creoles have been identified, more or less casually, in proto-Germanic and proto-Anatolian,⁷⁴ and more seriously in Middle English,⁷⁵ and already nearly thirty years ago an Indo-Europeanist of international standing was prepared to entertain the possibility that 'all change processes partake of the characteristics of creolization with the *particular* historical circumstances making the crucial, but essentially quantitative, difference' (Hoenigswald 1971: 479; emphasis original).⁷⁶

Where does all this leave traditional comparative-historical linguistics, and linguistic reconstruction based on the comparative method and the Neogrammarian postulate of regular sound change? In my view, *if the latter is properly understood and appropriately applied*, the answer to this question is, in a word, ‘untouched’, notwithstanding the seductive sniping of present-day post-Schuchardts, such as Peter Muhlhausler (1994).⁷⁷ Muhlhausler, writing in the official organ of the Indogermanische Gesellschaft, urges Indo-Europeanists to recognize that every scientific *modus operandi* has its day and that it is time to move on—what we are to move on to is not clear. It is important to note that, unlike most scientific procedures, the comparative method can only prove, it cannot disprove, relatedness. The problem is not with the method but with the available data. If the data are a certain way, they cannot be used for reconstruction, even if there is independent evidence that the languages in question are related.⁷⁸ If, on the other hand, **(p.50)** the data are a certain other way, then it is not that they *may* support the reconstruction of part of a prehistoric grammar, but that they *oblige* us to accept the existence of this grammar, there being simply no other way of accounting for the agreements. In essence this hundred-year-old ‘debate’ rests on two misunderstandings (for which both sides are in equal measure responsible) of the nature of the comparative method and of the extent to which the linguistic family tree makes (false) claims about speaker behaviour. The collection of essays edited by Durie and Ross (1996) is a timely and helpful addition to the discussion: on the ‘scientific’ nature of the comparative method as a heuristic, note especially Nicholls (1996), who pays attention to the statistical significance of the patterns of agreement on which it is based. Moss’s own piece in the collection (Ross 1996) relates specifically to contact-induced change and he, like Schuchardt and Muhlhausler before him, is undoubtedly right to assert that the comparative method simply cannot cope with many of his cases. Regretfully, however, I doubt that his call for a ‘principled augmentation’ of the method is realistic. At least he is content to live with the comparative method as it is. This is as it should be, and as it was a century ago: it is cheering to read Morpurgo Davies’s report at the end of her section on Schuchardt and the Neogrammarians that ‘both camps produced outstanding work and ... both acknowledged the validity of each other’s work’ (Morpurgo Davies 1998: 290).

No less fundamental to linguistic reconstruction than the Neo-grammarian exceptionlessness hypothesis is the uniformitarian principle that human languages have always been and changed pretty much as they are and change today. It is standard practice to assert, by implication at least, a similar principle in the sociolinguistics of corpus languages. I have given some superficial illustration of this with regard to women's languages and the relation between 'domain' and language choice. But to what extent is this sociolinguistic uniformitarianism justified? Or, to put it another way, at what level of generality may we formulate sociolinguistic universals? I recall Fishman's caveat (at the start of Section 5 above) and would reinforce it with Giles's contention that attitudes to language-varieties are subjective and context-dependent, and furthermore exist in a symbiotic relationship with the varieties themselves, and his reminder that the socio-psychological principles **(p.51)** of relevance to the matter of choice in linguistic behaviour are essentially *wow-universal*.⁷⁹ Evidently, if we are to think of basing *socio*-linguistic reconstruction on modern typology, we must tread very carefully.

I end with, a quotation from a lecture by the great French social, historical, and general linguist, Andre Martinet: 'what we need now, after so many years devoted to theoretical disquisitions, is to grapple with facts, irrespective of whether these confirm preconceived notions and fall into neat patterns, or present us with a new vision of things or point to a change in progress' (Martinet 1986: 251). Martinet was writing not for students of the ancient world but for modern sociolinguists, but there is point to his words for us, too. We are in the fortunate position of having a considerable range and amount of material in corpus languages reflecting, directly or indirectly, contexts and consequences of ancient bilingualism. Many of these materials take on a fresh appearance when viewed through the perspective of a multilingual society, and there is an already large, and growing, number of modern case studies and a mass of analysis and theory through which to reflect on bilingualism in the ancient world. There is evidently both need and opportunity for interdisciplinary work in this area—I mean both among ancient specialties and between ancient and modern: in other words, let us never forget to take the very broadest view both of whom we can learn from and of whom we can interest and write for.

Notes:

- (1) A major theme of research in bilingual communities: for an introduction, see Dressier (1988).
- (2) Such as those in Adams (1984) and Bain (1984) on female speech in, respectively, Roman and Greek New Comedy).
- (3) See the obituaries in *Neophilologus* 26 (194c), 241-55.

(4) I think, for instance, of Homeyer (1941) on ancient Italy, and of some of the earlier work referred to in Lewis's (1970) survey of bilingual education from the ancient world to the Renaissance.

(5) Note Campanile, Cardona, and Lazzeroni (19SS) and AA. VV. (1991). T. J. Haarhoff's article on bilingualism in *OCD* ² with its focus on education, is largely superseded by Rosalind Thomas's much more comprehensive contribution to *OCD* ³ (Thomas 1990); *Derneue Pauly* promises articles on both 'Mehrspraehitrkeit' and 'Zweisprachigkeit'.

(6) Useful surveys in (e.g.) Neumann and Untermann (1980) and Harris (1989).

(7) For some documented cases of *Sprachmord*, see Szemerényi (1981),

(8) See e.g. Szemerényi (1981) and Giacalone Ramat (1983).

(9) Contrast, for instance, the classic statement of Uriel Weinreich (1957: 203): 'The linguist's foremost interest in connection with bilingualism is to describe the manner in which the languages involved influence one another as a result of being imperfectly learned by the bilingual', with that of Suzanne Komuine (1995: X): 'The study of bilingualism could therefore be said to fall within the field of sociolinguistics in so far as the latter is a discipline which is concerned with the ways in which language is used in society.'

(10) Essentially that of Ferguson (1972 [1959]). More recent accounts of diglossia distinguish the (or more) points on a scale from High to Low: see e.g. al-Ġibālī (1985) and cf. already Joos (1962), For a good introductory overview of the real complexities involved. see Fasold (1984) 1 ff. and 34 ff.

(11) As do Fasold (1984) and Daltas (1994). Cf. also Fishman (1972 c), section 6.

(12) See Daltas (1994), with further references. This caused Fishman subsequently to modify his account.

(13) For the brief account and assessment of Eme-sal in the following paragraph I am indebted to Schretter's monograph (1990) and to the re\ tew of it by Black (1992).

(14) For assistance with these examples and their parsing, I am grateful to Dr J. A. Black.

(15) e.g. Eme-sal *d/t*~ Eme-gir *š* in *did-diš* 'one', *mutin*~*mušen* 'bird'.

(16) e.g. Eme-sal *ašte* 'chair' (Eme-gir *guza*), *ga*, *ir* 'bring' (Eme-gir *de tum*).

(17) For a brief review of women's languages worldwide, and further references, see Sehrotter (1990) 107 ff.

(18) Cf. Adams (1984) 43, with further references. In the ancient world note Crassus' mother-in-law at Cie. *De orat.* 3. 45, and other references in Gilleland (1980); Adams (1984); and Bain (1984).

(19) On these individual case studies see the contributions in Burton, Dyson, and Ardener (1994); on Hungarian in Austria, and generally, note especially Gal (1979).

(20) On the Gaulish inscriptions, including the bilinguals, see Lejeune (1988), esp. 25–37 on Vercelli (his *E-2) and 41–52 on Todi (his *E-s). On Gaulish personal names, see Evans (1967).

(21) Notice, among other things, in (2) the Latin paraphrase of the dvandva compound *deuogdonion* ('belonging to gods [*deuo*-]and humans [lit. earthlings, *gdon*-]') *comunem deis et hominibus*, and in (3) the cumbersome and un-Roman *locauit et statuit* for Gaulish *karnitu*.

(22) Aulus (A.), Cuius (C.), Gnaeus (Cn.), Tiberius (Ti.), and Titus (T.), 18 in all. 11 in common use and 7 confined to particular families (*gentes*).

(23) On the Roman system of personal names see Rix (1972) and Sehmitt (1992); on its connection with citizenship see Rix (1972) 703 and n. 4.

(24) On this example see Lejeune (1987) 89,

(25) Astonishingly few, in view of the size of our corpus of Etruscan inscriptions (some 10,000 items). The whole corpus has been conveniently re-edited by Mix in two volumes (1991). There is a recent new edition of the bilinguals, too, by Benelli (1994). On the following account of the bilinguals see Rix (1956).

(26) The references are to the edition of Rix (1991), where earlier references may be found.

(27) Rix (1956) and Gerhardt (1956) are in the same volume of *Beiträge zur Namen-forschung*: they provide a nice example of an account of bilingual phenomena in a corpus language being suggested by work on a living language; cf. also Untermann (1956) on Venetic (sect. 3.3 below).

(28) On Etr. *zix*- 'write; writing' see Pfiffig (1969) index s.v.

(29) For analogous mixtures of the old and the new in the choice of *praenomina* on the bilinguals, and in the ways in which freedmen are there named, see Rix (1956) and Benelli (1994).

(30) The basic edition of the inscriptions is Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967); see also Lejeune (1974). On Romanization see Lejeune (1978).

- (31) On these developments see Untermann (1961); Lejeune (1978); and Lazzeroni (1983).
- (32) Failing indication to the contrary, references are to the edition of Pellegrini and Prosdocimi (1967).
- (33) On this account of the Romanization of Venetic names, see Untermann (1956); (1961).
- (34) In this sentence we recognize a nominathc subject (*Voltionmnos*); two verbs joined by 'and' (*donasto ke lagsto*), of which the first means 'gave' and the second is unclear; an accusative object of uncertain meaning (*vdan*); an indirect object in the dative singular (*Śainatei Reitiai*, i.e. the goddess Reitia, the recipient of the dedication, with an epithet); a partially obscure prepositional phrase (*op voltio leno*, 'of his own free will' and/or 'for the sake of her goodwill'?, corresponding to Lat. *libens merito*?)
- (35) For an overview see Milroy and Muysken (1995a, b),
- (36) For some proposals of formal (grammatical) constraints on code-switching within the sentence see e.g. Woolford (1983); Di Sciullo, Muysken, and Singh (1986); Muysken (1995); (1997).
- (37) On these see Wenzel (1994). The extract I quote is from his Sermon 0-07 *De celo querebcmt*, lines 162–6.
- (38) i.e., by Wenzel's definition, sermons in which the English sequences are neither glosses, nor quoted or translated authorities, nor parts of divisions.
- (39) He quotes, for example (Wenzel 1994: 123), (a) (from Siena, 1395) *sermonem deuotum feci in latino coram papulo et iuxta morem alidualiter in unlgari*, and (b) (from the statutes of the Carthusian Order) *in dispositione facientis sermonem sit loqui la latine uel uulgariter uel mixtim*.
- (40) I quote these from Voigts (1989), table 11.
- (41) More importantly, this is the only example known to J. N. Adams and K.-D. Fischer.
- (42) For introductory accounts of the diverse uses of this term see Roruaue (1995) 30–3 and Fasold (1984) 183–8. Note also the definition of 'domain' by Fishman (1905) as 'a cluster of social situations typically constrained by a common set of behavioral rules' (quoted by Milroy and Muysken 1995 b: 5).
- (43) Cf. Fasold (1984) 202; Gal (1979); (1988).
- (44) Cf. scotton (1990). originally delivered at the Reading conference.

(45) P. Mich. VIII. 467-71, 476-80: 467-71 are in Latin (469 addressed in Greek), 476-80 in Greek.

(46) Also thanks to the now classic monograph by Adams (1977).

(47) All the letters contain trivial personal details, and in Latin is an agitated account of an argument, including direct speech (no. 471).

(48) Plin. *NH* 29. 17. On Greek as the language of medicine, note also the underlined phrase in n. 50 below.

(49) As possibly in the case of Claudius Terentianus' Greek influencing his Latin: cf. Adams (1977) *passim* (see the index s.v. *Greek interference*).

(50) His elaborate Latin speaks of literary training and belies his protestation of *labor, non eloquentiantia*; note the first sentence in his preface, p. I. 4-9 *Rose nuper me collegae Olympii exhortatione prouaratum nonnullos confecisse praesenianae libellos medicinae uel mediocris fama retinet, sed graeco stylo quoniam medendi industriam sremone claro hace natio publicauit in his igitur uoluminibus non studium tenebo glotiae neque enim in lodico opere eloquentia opus est sed labore.*

(51) s.v. *immineo*, 460. 69: 't.t. medicorum: ?t.q aegroto aliqua re succurrere (acced. abl. instr.)'.

(52) Önnarfors (1993) 295 n. 112: "suche ich, diese Symptonic durch ... zu bcdro-hen", d.h. zu beseitigen'.

(53) For example, note Galen xiii. 99 K, xiii. 327 K τῷ φαρμακῷ, xviii. 906 K τοῖς βοηθήμαι; Paul of Aegina 3, 65. 2 τοῖς τε καταπλάπλάσμασι καὶ τοῖς ἐγκαθίσι, 4. 48. 4 τῷ αὐτῷ φ<=>μ<=>κῷ Aëtius 7.32 (p.282. 24 Olivieri) τοῖς καταπλάπλάσμασιν ἐπιμένειν, 8, 48 (p. 471. 9) τοῦτοις ἐπιμενητέον ; *al.*

(54) e.g. Plb 1. 53. 10 οἱ δὲ νομενητέον οὐκ ἀξιοχρεως οφάς αὐτ οὐς εἶναι πρὸς ναυ μαχίαν; 3.82. 2 Φλ αμίνιος.δξάξων ἐαυτόνέ~~αυτο~~ πό τῶν ἐναντιῶν καταφρσνεῖσθαι. Cf. normally Lat. *Alexander aiebat se Iouis esse filium* vs. Gk. *Ἀλέξανδρῳ εἶναι Διός. υἱός*

(55) e.g. Plb 1.1.5 οὐχ ὅλοις πενήτωτοῖς καὶ τριῶν ἔτεσιν

(56) e.g. Plb. 2. 14. 4 τῷ σχήματι τριγνοειδής.

(57) e.g. Plb. 1. 16. 1 ὧν παραγενομένων (9 times in bks. 1-2)~ΛLat. quibus factis.

(58) Cf. Horrocks (1997) 78.

(59) See e.g. the reviews by F. Biville in *REL* 64 (1986). 229–31; P. Flobert in *RPh* 60 (1986) 311–13; R. Weil in *Gnomon* 59 (1986) 59–61.

(60) For the ideas and material in this section see Gershevitch (1979).

(61) These are two of the implications of the end of the Bisitun inscription: DB IV (§ 70) ‘Saith Darius the King: By the favour of Auramnzdā this *is the form of writing which I have besides, in besides, in Aryun*. Both on clay tablets and on parchment it has been placed. Besides I also made the signature; besides I made the lineage. *And it was written down and read aloud before me.*’ For a recent edition of the inscriptions see Schmitt (1991).

(62) In Gershevitch’s words (1979: ‘thus written communication within a huge multilingual empire became easy from the Nile to the Indus, by the simplest possible and cleverest device’.

(63) Cf. Rubin’s paper in this volume.

(64) Few, if any, would do so today.

(65) As reported and quoted in Morpurgo Davies (1998) 198 (emphasis added).

(66) Cf. Morpurgo Davies (1998) 288.

(67) I quote Morpurgo Davies (1998) 287, 288 (emphasis added).

(68) On Schuchardt, the Neogrammarists, and the *Stammbaum* controversy, see Schuchardt (1885); Vennemann and Wilbur (1972); Morpurgo Davies (1998) 284 ff.

(69) On the need for a theory of change (including both of these types of language change) as an essential part of a unified sociolinguistic theory, see e.g. Milroy (1992b). As for internal changes, for a defence of the essential regularity of sound change, see e.g. Campbell (1996),

(70) See e.g. Morpurgo Davies (1997) on the borrowing of particles (καί, δέ, μέν..., δέ) between Greek dialects; cf. Campbell (1993) on what can and cannot be borrowed, leaving intact at most one of Moravcsik’s (1978) proposed universal constraints on borrowing.

(71) As a rule, the levelling of differences between languages in contact and simplification from the point of view of the adult learner, whether in western Indo-European (Trudgill 1983: 102 ff.), western Iranian (Szemerényi 1981), or in pidgins and Creoles.

(72) See e.g. Bloomfield (1935) 444 ff.

(73) Types of pidgins include jargons, stable pidgins, expanded pidgins; Creoles may be either basilects, mesolectal varieties, oracroleots; and there are post-creoles, semi-creoles (=creoloids). mixed (=intertwined) languages, lingua francas, and koinés. For a useful introduction to these and others, see Arends, Aluysken, and Smith (1995).

(74) See e.g. Polomé (1979); (1990).

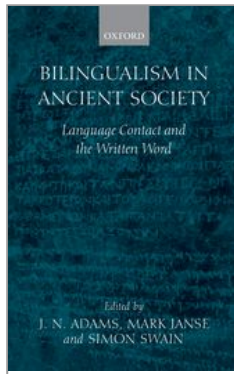
(75) See e.g. Builey and Maroldt (1977).

(76) Note also the synthesis of work on creole studies and language-contact studies by Thomason and Kaufman (1988) and the new horizons on language change in e.g. Dixon (1997) and Lass (1997).

(77) In his review of the introduction to language-contact studies by Bechert and Wildgen (1991), for whom, incidentally, the traditional method and its results remain valid. Cf. Versteegh in this volume.

(78) So, for instance, we could not reconstruct Indo-European on the basis of French, Albanian, and modern Welsh. Cf. Nicholls (1990) 47–8. quoting Meil-Ét.

(79) Cf. Giles (1992), with further



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J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Dead or Alive? The Status of the Standard Language

KEES VERSTEEGH

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter discusses the value of written records as evidence of the historical linguistic circumstances. The focus is on the status of the standard language, that is, the language of prestige in the speech community. Specifically, two tendencies that have to do with the dichotomy 'dead'/'alive' underlying many discussions about standard languages are considered. This dichotomy reflects the metalinguistic attitude of the speakers and corresponds with the subconscious tendency of many linguists to think of languages as existing entities, even when they reject the Schleicherian paradigm of language as an organism. The first tendency is to regard the standard language in the written texts as 'alive', which leads to an overestimation of its importance for a reconstruction of language change. The second tendency is to regard the standard language in the written record as 'dead', which leads to an underestimation of the role of the standard in the speech community.

Keywords: standard language, written records, language change, linguistic circumstances, speech community

1. Introduction

THE day before he was assassinated in 1981 the Egyptian president Sadat held a speech in Parliament. The day after his death it was printed in the newspaper *al-Ahram* with a note by the editors to the effect that due to the special circumstances there had been no time to 'translate' it. What they meant by this was that there had been no time to transpose Sadat's words into standard Arabic, so that his speech appeared in Egyptian Arabic, in the exact form he had presented it.

There are several points which this incident illustrates: in the first place the fact that unlike his colleagues in other Arab countries, an Egyptian president may use Egyptian dialect even when addressing Parliament; in the second place the fact that Egyptians are aware of the difference between Egyptian dialect and standard language and feel that for a written representation of the spoken word only the standard language is appropriate. But the most important point in connection with the present topic is perhaps that without this incident we would never have known from the written record that the Egyptian president had spoken anything else than the standard language.

(p.53) Of course, in the case of present-day Egypt we have other means to verify how people actually speak (we could, for instance, attend parliamentary sessions and witness presidential speeches in person), but in the case of past linguistic situations we are not in a position to find out how people actually spoke. The only available strategy in dealing with such past (socio)linguistic situations is to take for granted that what applies now applied in the past as well. In itself this 'uniformity principle' (cf. Houben 1996b: 158) is reasonable enough. Or perhaps we should say it is the only pragmatic approach to the study of the past. Its validity, however, depends crucially on data to establish the basic similarity of the two situations—past and present—under scrutiny. Since the recorded data are always skewed towards the written norm, it is safe to assume that the uniformity principle will very often lead us astray when we take the data to be representative of the entire linguistic interaction in the past, both written and oral.

We are so accustomed to supplementing the written record of the present automatically with our own experience in oral communication that we tend to lose sight of the fact that the past data always use the medium of writing and are therefore always affected by the norm of a written standard. With regard to past linguistic situations we do not have the possibility of supplementing these data with any data from the actual linguistic situation. These are trivial conclusions, but as we shall see below, they are not always heeded in the linguistic reconstruction of the past.

In the Egyptian example the note in the newspaper demonstrated the functional difference between two registers of the same language, of which otherwise we would not have been aware. Without such metalinguistic observations the written sources themselves lose much of their value. Unfortunately, most of the written sources at our disposal are not accompanied by observations about actual speech. For such sources we have to extrapolate from occasional mistakes, slips of the pen, hypercorrections, loanwords, and so on, in order to get a glimpse of the speech situation. This applies not only to those cases in which various registers of the same language are used, e.g. Arabic in the Middle Ages, but also to those cases in which various languages were used, e.g. the Arabic/Aramaic bilin-gualism in the Nabataean kingdom, or the Coptic/Arabic papyri of the first centuries of Islam in Egypt.

Yet, there is a general tendency to regard the written sources as a **(p.54)** reflection of the actual speech situation and sociolinguistic make-up of the speech community. In this paper we shall deal with the value of written sources as evidence of the historical linguistic circumstances. Our conclusions will touch upon the value of the sources both for the relationship between written and spoken registers of the same language and for that between two different languages.

The focus will be the status of the standard language, i.e. the language of prestige in the speech community. Specifically, we shall deal with two tendencies that have to do with the dichotomy 'dead'/ 'alive' underlying many discussions about standard languages. This dichotomy reflects the metalinguistic attitude of the speakers and it corresponds with the subconscious tendency of many linguists to think of languages as existing entities, even when they reject the Schleicherian paradigm of language as an organism. The first tendency is to regard the standard language in the written texts as 'alive', which leads to an overestimation of its importance for a reconstruction of language change. The second tendency is to regard the standard language in the written record as 'dead', which leads to an underestimation of the role of the standard in the speech community.

Most discussions about the role of the standard language in the speech community deal with the process by which a language becomes standard. On the basis of Haugen's (1966) classic distinction of four stages in this process—selection, codification, implementation, and elaboration—a massive literature on the history of standard languages has arisen. There is much less attention paid to the synchronic function of a standard language in the speech community and its role as a model. Publications dealing with this issue usually take as their point of departure Ferguson's (1972 [1959]) definition of a diglossic community, in which he restricted the notion of 'diglossia' to a narrow set of linguistic situations, all exhibiting two discrete varieties of the same language, usually called the 'high' and the 'low' variety (for a discussion of Ferguson's theory see Britto 1985; Fernández 1993: vii—xx; and Ferguson's own recapitulation of his model in Ferguson 1990). Subsequent modifications of this definition (e.g. by Gumperz 1962; Fishman 1967; 1972*b*) have expanded it to encompass all linguistic situations in which there is a sociolinguistic division of functions between linguistic varieties, whether or not these varieties 'belong' to the same language. Besides, in this modified version of the definition 'diglossia' **(p.55)** has become a strictly sociolinguistic notion; the term 'bilingualism' is then reserved for the psycholinguistic notion of 'proficiency in more than one linguistic variety'. In this framework a speech community that uses two different languages in a strict distribution of domains (traditionally called 'bilingual') falls under the definition of diglossia.

Finally, Ferguson's analysis has been criticized in another respect as well. The actual speech situation in the communities mentioned by Ferguson in his 1959 article (Aral world, German-speaking parts of Switzerland, Greece, Haiti) turned out to be incompatible with his description. The supposition of discrete varieties in these speech communities was found to be untenable, and an analysis in terms of a linguistic continuum appeared to predict speech behaviour and linguistic choice in a much better way.

Within Ferguson's diglossia model the high variety is the prestigious medium of literature and religion that is learnt at school and functions as the model for purposes of writing and for formal speech. The low variety is the mother tongue for all speakers, which is almost never written and serves as the register for informal speech.

Obviously, the high variety has some of the characteristics of a standard language. If the standard language is defined as a codified norm within a speech community, then it is more or less identical with the high variety in the diglossia model. However, some comments on this identity are in order. In the first place, the term 'standard language' stands for at least two different notions. Sometimes it is used as a synonym for 'the codified norm of the language', as, for instance, when 'standard French' is used in the sense of 'the French language as it is laid down in the grammar of the Académie Française'. At other times the standard indicates the target of the speakers in a speech community, the linguistic aim of all speakers who aim at a cultivated language. In the former sense it corresponds to the high variety in Ferguson's original scheme, in the latter sense it corresponds with the idea of a linguistic continuum.

The distinction between two senses of the term 'standard language' may seem trivial, but it is not: in the literature one often finds discussions about the question of whether a certain group of people was speaking standard language, or whether an inscription was written in the standard language. In such cases one often-heard argument for the non-standard character of an inscription (**p. 56**) or a recording is that the language it contains is not identical with the standard. Obviously, such an argument uses the term 'standard language' in the sense of 'a codified set of rules'. People who speak or write a language that is considerably different from the codified grammar may very well be aiming at a standard target and may thus be said to be speaking or writing standard language in the second sense of the word. As a matter of fact, in present-day speech communities one often finds that speakers believe they are using the standard language (in the second sense), where 'objectively' we find that their speech deviates considerably from the standard in the first sense.

A second observation in this connection is that the use of the term 'standard' as such is not a very helpful one since it does not tell us what purpose the standard is supposed to serve. Since the emergence of national states in Europe the standard language usually fulfils all functions on the level of the state: political, cultural, social, and religious. In other words, in the national state the standard language is encountered in all aspects of society. But this is not as self-evident as it may seem to be.

A case in point is the role of Sanskrit in South-East Asia (see Pollock 1996). In political entities outside India, such as Thailand, Burma, and Indonesia, Sanskrit was used as a standard language for the purpose of proclaiming the power of the ruling dynasty. This is evident from its use in political inscriptions. But it is noteworthy that in the more factual parts of these inscriptions (and this applies to southern India as well as to all other political entities in South-East Asia where Sanskrit was used) the indigenous language was immediately substituted for Sanskrit. Sanskrit, of course, had a second function as the language of the holy scriptures of Buddhism. In this function it was exported to Tibet and other countries, where it enjoyed a high degree of prestige as the language of the Buddhist canon. But the important point is that neither in Burma, nor in Thailand, nor in Indonesia did Sanskrit ever become the standard language for cultural or social purposes. There was no tendency on the part of the élite to impress other people by their expertise in speaking Sanskrit. Sanskrit therefore remained a standard language in one sense exclusively, but certainly not in all other senses.

In the case of Sanskrit this limited use of the language may be explained by the fact that it was never exported by means of military or economic power in the way Arabic and Latin were. And **(p.57)** no doubt one could find similar explanations for most functional differences between standard languages. The point to keep in mind here is that we should not automatically assume that when a language is regarded as standard it always performs the same functions as other languages that are called standard. This is particularly relevant when we are dealing with the attitudes speakers have towards linguistic variation in their speech community: obviously, a standard language that is only used for religious purposes, say, or for the expression of political adherence, will evoke different attitudes in speakers from a language that is used throughout society for a variety of functions, including social ones.

2. The Evidence of Written Records

Since all records of the past use of a language have been preserved in the written medium, the written text provides us with the only means to reconstruct the development of the language. It is therefore not surprising that historical linguists use these records as a more or less faithful testimony to the historical development of the language involved. After all, even non-specialists believe that since texts dating from an earlier period are written in a language that differs considerably from the one we are using today in our communication, people must have spoken differently, too. Or, in the words of Keller (1994: 3), 'Languages are always changing. Twenty generations separate us from Chaucer. If we could board a time machine and visit him in the year 1390, we would have great difficulties in making ourselves understood—even roughly.' Since he does not have a time machine at his disposal, Keller's only reason for assuming this difference on the level of spoken speech must have been the text of Chaucer's work, in other words, a written document. But this text tells us only how people wrote in 1390, and while the difference between their written language and ours is obvious, we do not know how they spoke, not even on the basis of so-called colloquial documents. The use of written documents in a reconstruction of the language of the past is hardly ever seriously questioned. Yet, there is ample reason to question the value of these written records, precisely because of the normative force of the written standard in the speech community.

The problem of using written evidence from a linguistic point of **(p.58)** view is addressed directly by Givón (1991) in his study of the development of relative-clause marking in Biblical Hebrew. He states (1991: 279) that his study is based on the following fundamental assumption:

If a number of variables, i.e. pairs of competing forms in phonology, morpho-syntax and word-order, line up the very same texts (or speech communities) in exactly the same order of gradually changing relative frequencies along either a geographic or temporal space, then only two coherent explanations exist for such remarkable convergence:

- (i) These are contiguous points along a geographic dialect continuum;
- or
- (ii) These are contiguous points along a temporal diachronic change continuum.

His method consists in selecting four linguistic variables that are counted in the corpus of Biblical and Mishnaic Hebrew. Their relative frequency is then set out on a chronological scale that is assumed to reflect the relative date of the various components of the corpus. The problem with this approach is that it is to some extent circular. It seems as if the relative chronology is determined by independent linguistic means, but using this method presupposes a direct relationship between development in written texts and development in real time. This presupposition is fundamental to the method used by Givón, but it must be rejected as unfounded. Givón does mention a related methodological problem, specifically connected with the nature of the biblical corpus, which has been altered over and over again by succeeding generations of editors and copyists. Throughout the history of the I Hebrew Bible stylistic fashions alternated, some of them taking as their model earlier texts, so that the occurrence of archaic features in itself tells us nothing about the actual date of the text. Givón argues, however, that as long as the variables are independent from each other they still give us some insight into the relative chronology of the texts involved.

The main methodological problem remains, however, that the development of the variables in the texts is regarded as a development in time. This temporal development is then confirmed by the count in the texts that have been aligned according to their relative chronology on the basis of the assumed linguistic development. Givón himself hints at a possible source of interference in this respect when he says (1991: 281) that the change *'ašer* > *še-* for the relative marker is probably under-represented in the corpus since **(p.59)** 'purely phonological contractions of this type are characteristic of the spoken language, and are often not reflected in the writing system until much later'. In other words, it is quite possible that *še-* was used in spoken speech a long time before it actually started to occur in the texts. Now, if we count the occurrences of *še-* vs. *'ašer* in the texts, what are we actually measuring? Surely, such a count can only give us information about the way the attitude towards the grammatico-stylistic standard developed in the speech community or in a particular writer.

Thus, if writers prefer to write in a more colloquial form of language and this results in a more frequent use of colloquial variants, this higher frequency tells us something about their attitude towards the standard for written production, but it does not tell us anything about the development of the colloquial language. Writers living and writing at a much later period may well decide that the written text deserves a more elevated standard and revert to an earlier form of the language, perceived by them as more prestigious. This may even become the norm for the entire literate level of society, as in the case of Atticism in Hellenistic literature. As Anlauf (1960) has demonstrated, the existence of such a norm does not imply an exact correspondence with the 'real' Attic dialect of the fifth century BC, but it reflects the authors' aim of writing in what they regard as Attic. A similar example is the use of Biblical Hebrew by the Dead Sea sect, mentioned by Spolsky (1983: 105-6).

In the case of the Hebrew relatives discussed above, Givón concludes on the basis of his reconstruction of the relative chronology that the marker *'ašer* gradually encroached upon other syntactic environments through a number of analogical pathways, such as the accusative—propositional blend, the purpose-subjunctive blend, and the because—factive blend. This presupposes that at the beginning *'ašer* was only used as a relative marker *tout court*. But the only evidence we have for this presupposition is that this is the construction in the earliest texts, and the only reason we call them the earliest texts is that we have set up a relative chronology on the basis of this and other assumed changes.

A wholly different hypothetical scenario could be set up on the basis of the same data, which would be reflected in exactly the same way in the surviving corpus, namely one in which the original use of *'ašer* was much more general in colloquial language already, but severely prohibited in the written standard. Gradually, however, the **(p.60)** restrictions of the written standard against the more generalized use were lifted and, as a result, the 'new' constructions started to crop up in the written texts in increasing numbers.

Against such a hypothetical scenario it could be argued that it is precisely the cumulative evidence of the independently selected variables that proves the validity of one scenario over another. But this argument does not seem to work. In the first place, variables may very well differ in their relative acceptability in the speech community. In modern times we may quote the example of the kind of prescripts that are taught in school (for example, in English the constraints against the split infinitive or the stranded preposition): transgression of these rules is severely punished, whereas other transgressions that are not covered by the canon are treated much more leniently. This kind of differentiation may well vary across time, and there is absolutely no guarantee that what is forbidden at one time will be forbidden at another time as well.

A second objection to the alternative scenario could only be made on the basis of a supposed naturalness of the directionality of the change, as in Givón's scenario. But this naturalness in its turn would almost certainly be based on the analogy with other changes that have the same evidentiary status, so that even in combination they do not prove the naturalness of certain changes as against others.

To illustrate the problem of determining relative chronologies on the basis of written material, let us take a hypothetical example from Standard Dutch. If a linguist from the twenty-fourth century were to become interested in the development of the comparative construction in Dutch (with the variable *groter als/dan*) solely on the basis of written material, let us say from the beginning of the nineteenth century onwards, he would have to conclude that the normal construction of the comparative was with *dan*, which was gradually replaced in the course of the twentieth century by *ah*. In the quality newspapers *als* starts to appear sporadically in the 1960s as a mistake (usually leading to reactions by infuriated readers complaining about the corruption of speech), but then it spread during the 1970s and 1980s, until in the 1990s one finds examples of it on almost every page of the newspapers. Fortunately for us, there is independent evidence showing that the use of *als* was just as widespread in Substandard Dutch in the seventeenth century as it is nowadays (cf. van den Toorn *et al.* 1997: 519). What has developed is a larger tolerance of the written language to this form, **(p.61)** which is no longer regarded as totally taboo (as a matter of fact, one frequently hears politicians use it without anyone taking offence).

Similar examples are mentioned in an article on recent developments in Standard High German by Lehmann (1991), who discusses the constituent order in main and subordinate clauses in written German and observes that this word order is changing as a result of grammaticalization. In main clauses the verb-second order is being affected by colloquial sentences of the type *wird ja nicht so schlimm sein* 'it won't be as bad as that', in subordinate clauses the verb-final constraint is increasingly being set aside under the influence of constructions with *weil* and *obwohl* with main-clause word order. These alternative constructions have been available as stylistic alternatives for centuries (cf. Sandig 1973). Here again, the apparent development in the written sources is an artefact of the selectivity of these sources.

What these examples illustrate is that the written language can never be taken as evidence of the *terminus ante quem* of a certain change. The comparative with *als* did not develop from the comparative with *dan*: in fact it may well be more original than its counterpart (just as in High German), whereas the *dan* form started as a regionalism that was introduced in the standard language as a result of the predominance of the regional dialect. The verb-first sentences in Standard German have always been available as colloquial stylistic alternatives before they started to appear in greater numbers in standard prose texts.

The point is that for many of the great cultural languages that were used in the past our only evidence is the kind of corpus that we have for Biblical Hebrew. In fact, only those languages that have a cultural heritage allow us to get a glimpse of any historical development: all other languages have a documented history of no more than at most a few centuries. But Old Egyptian, Latin, Greek, Akkadian, Hebrew, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Sanskrit, and a few other languages do provide us with a corpus that in some cases spans millennia. One of the consequences of this situation is that the history of written languages has constituted the main input for any theory of linguistic change and continues to do so.

It is true that the study of contemporary linguistic variation and code-switching has led to important innovations in our ideas about linguistic change, and that longitudinal studies of linguistic variation over periods of twenty or thirty years have generated new **(p.62)** theories of linguistic development. It is also true that case studies of processes of pidginization and creolization taking place within a few decades have come up with improved models of the effects of language acquisition in restricted circumstances. But the point remains that these theories and models are hardly ever applied to long-term developments.

Those languages that have a long documented history continue to provide most of the evidence, simply because the historical material for exclusively spoken languages spans at most a few centuries. In the case of Eastern Arctic Inuktitut, for instance, we can compare the present-day situation with missionaries' notes that were taken two centuries ago (cf. Dorais 1996). In this case the historical material is not contaminated by intrusion from a standard language, since such a standard did not exist; but the time-span is very short compared with other languages that do have a standard. Inversely, when there is ample written documentation from the past, this is either written directly in the standard language, or it is contaminated to such a degree that we cannot distinguish between spoken and written register. Even dialectological documentation from the past (as in Gerritsen's 1979 comparison of dialectological questionnaires over one century of research) is subject to the same pressures of the prestige language as the written sources referred to above. It is therefore imperative to take a good hard look at the status of the written corpora in view of the importance these still have for the theoretical assumptions underlying diachronic (and comparative) linguistics.

For some of the languages mentioned here the problem of the value of the written sources has often been discussed, particularly for Arabic, Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit. In the history of each of these four languages there are categories of texts that deviate from the standard language in a more or less systematic way. Some of the deviations found in these texts correspond to features of present-day varieties of these languages. Usually these varieties are regarded as later stages of the languages involved; in some cases they replaced them as standard languages: for example, Latin was replaced by the Romance standard languages and Sanskrit by the present-day Indic languages. In other cases the colloquial varieties remained in use as the vernacular counterparts of the standard language, as in the case of *dhimotiki* Greek (cf. for the development in the Byzantine period Dagron 1969, and for the contemporary situation Mackridge 1985; **(p.63)** Horrocks 1997) and the modern Arabic dialects (cf. e.g. Holes 1995: 277–315; Versteegh 1997: 189–208).

On the basis of the correspondence between deviations in texts and later colloquial varieties, it has generally been assumed that this category of texts documents a gradual development of the spoken language. In the case of the history of the Romance languages, for instance, such texts are generally known as Vulgar Latin. Under this heading we encounter such texts as a grammarian's list of mistakes (*Appendix Probi*), a nun's story of her voyage to the Holy Land (*Peregrinatio ad loca sancta*) and a veterinary treatise (*Mu-lomedicina Chironis*). According to most Romanists, the language of these texts represents some kind of intermediate variety between Classical Latin and the later Romance languages, the missing link that explains the emergence of the latter.

The deviations from the grammar of Classical Latin in the texts are supposed to reflect the everyday speech of ordinary people. The earliest deviations are found in texts from the first centuries of the Common Era. The texts in which they occur contain only a few features that cannot be explained within the grammatical system of Classical Latin, but the number of 'errors' or deviations from Classical Latin increases over time. Accordingly, it is usually assumed that this progression reflects the gradual development of the colloquial language. Any handbook on the history of Latin or the Romance languages could be quoted to show that this is the usual view of the status of Vulgar Latin texts. By way of example I quote here from the introduction to Grandgent's (1963: 20, 21) handbook of Vulgar Latin; the original version of this handbook dates back to 1907, but similar quotations could be cited ad lib. from any recent textbook:

Lo que llamamos 'latín vulgar' es el lenguaje de las clases metlias tal como se deriva del antiguo latín clásico ... El latín vulgar es el latín vivo, el lenguaje *que se hablaba* espontáneamente, como vernáculo, en la vida ordinaria.

What we call 'Vulgar Latin' is the language of the middle classes, as it was derived from Classical Latin ... Vulgar Latin is the living Latin language, the language that *was spoken* spontaneously, as a vernacular language, in ordinary life.

Perhaps the tendency to look upon the language of the Vulgar Latin texts as a true reflection of the colloquial language has more or less disappeared from the literature on the emergence of the Romance **(p.64)** languages (see e.g. the methodological discussion by Coseriu 1978 [1954]). But the gradual progression of deviations in the texts is still seen as a true reflection of a diachronic development in the spoken language. Almost all accounts of the emergence of the Romance vernaculars are based on these written sources, whose status is generally thought to be unambiguous. A rare exception is Křepinský's (1958) theory, according to which the deviations in the texts represent the finishing-point of a development, and not the point of departure. In his view developments in the spoken language took place centuries before they first appear in the written sources.

The Vulgar Latin texts do not contain a contemporary colloquial form of Latin. They were written by authors whose command of the Classical language was less than satisfactory, but who still aimed to produce a written text in Classical Latin. Certainly, they do contain deviations from Classical grammar, some of which have their origin in the colloquial speech of the authors. But they also contain hypercorrections, showing their authors' wish to write according to the norm. It is this latter category of deviations that demonstrates the true character of these texts: no one using the written medium in a society with a standard language can escape the influence of this standard. One might even say that the deviations constitute evidence of the existence of a norm: when an author makes mistakes in the syntax of the case endings, this proves that the norm still prescribes the use of these endings (on the status of pseudo-corrections see Blau 1970).

In all linguistic communities the written documents—whether literary or epigraphic or even private papyri—reflect the development of the standard language, or rather the speakers' attitude towards the written standard. In the early centuries of the Common Era the Classical Latin language was the target for all written production in the provinces of the Roman Empire, whether in Gaul, or Spain, or Italy, or the Roman East. Obviously, many people did not achieve this aim, but it would be wrong to concentrate on the extreme cases, such as the language of the Bu Njem ostraca studied by Adams (1994c) and regard the rest as evidence of 'change in the language': all written production was aimed at the same artificial standard, although the end results differed in the degree of realization of this goal.

Incidentally, the centripetal force of the Imperial standard may **(p.65)** be one of the reasons why there is hardly any regional fragmentation in the earliest examples of Vulgar Latin texts (cf, Vårvaro 1991): geographically determined variants were probably much more stigmatized than socially determined variants as long as the norm of the Roman standard of Latin was still in force. With the fragmentation of the Empire the regional variation, which had always been there in the first place, now got a chance to become manifest in the written production of the provinces. Again, the increase of regional divergence in the texts does not reflect a diachronic linguistic development but constitutes an artefact of political 'divergence'.

Analogues of the category of the so-called Vulgar Latin and Middle Arabic texts probably exist in the history of all great languages. Nowhere do they contain a special, discrete variety of the language, but they represent a sociolinguistic category with a wide variation of forms and degrees of deviation from the corresponding Classical norm. Such texts are often regarded as our best source for the spoken language of the period in question. In the case of the Middle Arabic texts, for instance, one of the best specialists of this category of texts started out by regarding their language as a variety in its own right, as may be surmised from his comments about the erroneous use of case endings in some texts (Blau 1965: 3):

But this omission of the flexional endings is only one, though the most conspicuous, of the changes that affected Old Arabic and transformed it into *Middle Arabic*. So far-reaching were these alterations that in the oldest documents available Middle Arabic already clearly exhibits all the structural peculiarities that characterize modern Arabic dialects.

Here, Middle Arabic is regarded as a language, chronologically intermediate between an older and a newer type of Arabic, the predecessor of the modern colloquial varieties, just as Vulgar Latin is regarded as the precursor of the Romance dialects. Contrast this formulation with Blau's (1982: 96) more recent position, where he states: 'Daher ist es erwünscht, nur die aus klassisch-arabischen und früh-neuarabischen Elementen zusammengesetzte Sprache als Mittelarabisch zu bezeichnen, in Bezug auf die neuarabischen Elemente selbst aber den Ausdruck "Frühneuarabisch" zu benutzen.' In this new formulation the mixed character of the Middle Arabic texts is stressed. But something more is at stake here than just a terminological matter: rather than regarding the language of the texts in question as a discrete variety Blau now acknowledges the fact that it may have been affected by colloquial language, but cannot **(p.66)** be identified with it. The variation in them is extremely high, both intra- and intertextually, the hypercorrections, which illustrate the allegiance to the Classical norm, defy analysis in terms of linguistic level, and the very nature of these texts precludes their use as documents illustrating the chronological development of the language. The discussion of the status of the Middle Arabic texts could easily be applied to other instances of so-called 'intermediate' texts, such as Vulgar Latin documents.

Even for languages with a shorter documented history, such as English, the problems connected with the use of written sources to establish the history of that language are considerable. According to Milroy (1992a), historical linguistics tends to focus on the standard language, projecting back the modern literary standard onto earlier stages, thus creating a unidimensional and unidirectional view of linguistic history. This may be justifiable to some extent in the domains of the lexicon and clausal syntax because these are often directly connected with the ideology of establishing a standard norm, but not in the domain of phonology.

Existing studies on the basis of written documents tend either to under- or to overestimate the spelling variation in older documents. Such variation is sometimes dismissed as the result of scribal mistakes; or, alternatively, it is seen as a sign of emerging changes in pronunciation. Both approaches lead to a mistaken view of the history of the language: the date of the change that is documented on the basis of the written documents does not apply to all varieties of the language, which have gone through a separate development but are obscured in the unidimensional view of history in the usual approach. Besides, the date of the first occurrence of a certain feature in the documents cannot be regarded as a *terminus post quem*, since it may very well reflect a change that took place a long time before it ever surfaced in the written medium.

3. The Role of the Standard in the Speech Community

In the preceding section we dealt with the danger of overrating the evidentiary value of written texts. There is another danger inherent in the treatment of written testimonies: the underestimation of the role of the standard and its importance in the normative linguistic behaviour of the speech community. In many of his publications **(p.67)** Roger Wright (see especially 1982) has dealt with the role of Latin during the Middle Ages. In his view the commonly accepted picture of Latin as a spoken language in the centuries after the fall of the Roman Empire is mistaken. Latin was indeed used by scholars not only for correspondence but also for learned conversation, but this spoken use of the language did not start until the Carolingian revolution. After Alcuin's reforms the status of Latin came to resemble that of Arabic as an international language of science.

Some of the arguments Wright adduces as evidence for this view have to do with the sociolinguistic position of the standard language and are therefore directly relevant to the present topic. In his view the Latin texts of the Middle Ages prior to the Carolingian reform are nothing more than an archaic spelling convention to represent the Romance vernacular that by that time had become the sole spoken language. On the example of the Leonese Vulgar Latin texts, for instance, Wright (1982: 165–73) demonstrates how the divergence between spoken and written form could work. In his view, Latin declensional endings like *-ibus* and *-orum* in these documents were treated as spelling devices and were often omitted when reading aloud. The contemporary practice of reading standard documents in other speech communities shows that readers may indeed replace standard forms with colloquial ones (it is almost regular procedure in Egyptian broadcasting for texts written in Standard Arabic to be pronounced according to colloquial usage). But they can also choose to use the standard forms: in a diglossic society both varieties are available to the (literate) speaker, and the standard variety is certainly not restricted to the written medium, but is also widely used in formal speech.

According to Wright, Latin as a spoken medium of communication for scholars, i.e. in formal speech, was an invention of the Carolingian scholars; in the preceding centuries this choice had not been available. In my view the real meaning of the Carolingian reform was the 'invention' of the Romance language as a separate register, variety, or even language. Up to the time of the Carolingian reform the Romance vernacular had been regarded as a deficient register of Latin, whereas from now on it came to be recognized as a separate linguistic variety in its own right. As a concomitant result, the Carolingians became interested in enforcing much more strictly the correct spelling of Latin.

The main thrust of Wright's ideas about the status of Latin in **(p.68)** the Early Middle Ages is that it was only used as a written language, which for him implies that it was a 'dead' language, i.e. not a spoken variety. Again, the linguistic situation elsewhere offers the possibility of modifying this view. Since Ferguson's original article (1972 [1959]) and the subsequent modifications of his terminology and categorization, it has become abundantly clear that the view of diglossia as a linguistic situation in which one language variety is used exclusively in formal writing and speaking, whereas the other is used for informal speaking, is too imprecise. In a diglossic speech community there are no discrete varieties, but linguistic variation is organized along a continuum between the standard language and the vernacular. Both ends of the continuum represent constructs: at the top the standard is the codified norm, and at the bottom end of the continuum the idealized vernacular consists in a conglomerate of non-standard features.

One of the most characteristic features of such a diglossic situation is that the speakers themselves usually regard the entire spectrum of variation as the expression of one single language, even when 'objective' features of the extreme ends of the continuum would seem to indicate differently. At the same time the speakers are well aware of the differences and usually condemn deviations from what they regard as the standard. Thus when modern speakers of Arabic express themselves in *'āmmiyya* 'common language', they know that the forms they use are different from those used in written and formal spoken speech, but they nevertheless regard this way of speaking as part of the *'arabiyya* 'Arabic language', as in answer to the simple question 'Which language do you speak?'

Something similar must have been the case in the European Middle Ages. There are plenty of examples of people using a Romance form of speech, who nevertheless call this 'Latin': as late as the fourteenth century Dante still persisted in using the name *latino* for what was no doubt a form of speech we would call 'Italian' (cf. Janson 1991: 23). This does not imply that speakers were unaware of the differences between Romance and Latin, nor does it imply that they believed they were speaking correct Latin all the time.

When the sources start using the term *lingua romana*, this has nothing to do with a linguistic change or the emergence of a new-language, but it represents a change in the attitude towards the linguistic continuum, or as Janson (1991: 21) expresses it: ‘the fact that a language changes is not in itself a necessary or a sufficient **(p.69)** cause for a change in language name’. Lloyd (1991) refers to the same phenomenon and points out that the term *lingua romana* was used until the ninth century as a synonym for *lingua latina* and did not come to denote a separate variety until after the Carolingian renaissance. In his view this change in meaning does not imply that people had suddenly become aware that there was a difference between the two varieties. He could have added that the synonymous use does not imply, either, that the two were identical before the change in name.

The use of *lingua romana* to denote a separate variety is simply a new way of denoting the spoken form of the common language, which had always differed from the written form, but lacked a special name. In preaching, as Herman (1991) has shown, priests were well aware of the fact that the common people (*vulgus*) could not be reached with the elevated register of the language of the grammarians, so that in their sermons they freely used those forms which the grammarians had condemned as *vitia*. This ‘vulgar’ language must therefore be regarded as the language used for the benefit of the illiterates (*indocti*), as distinct from the linguistic norm that constituted the literates’ target in writing and on formal occasions.

The speech of the illiterates themselves was regarded by almost everybody as totally irrelevant: it does not survive in the testimonies of the grammarians, nor does it surface in the documents written by those *indocti* who had received some education, since by definition any written form of speech aimed at obeying the rules of the written language. The neglect of the vernacular variety of speech by grammarians is, of course, a universal phenomenon in linguistic traditions all over the world, and so is the fiction of the codified norm as a language actually used in everyday speech by all literate people.

The simple dichotomy of literates associating themselves with a codified norm, on the one hand, and illiterates who do not count as speakers, on the other, may gradually start to change as more and more illiterates are taught the rudiments of writing and reading, becoming thereby semi-literate. Paradoxically, the number of ‘mistakes’ in writing (i.e. deviations from the hitherto valid rules of written language) increases proportionally with the number of semi-literates. This again underscores the fact that the metalinguistic attitudes of the speakers do not necessarily go hand in hand with their actual proficiency in the different varieties of the language. **(p.70)** Likewise, in the contemporary Arab world many speakers are convinced they speak and understand standard Arabic (*fus ‘h ‘ā*), while in actual fact they are just able to recognize that something is spoken in Arabic, often without being able to understand the contents of the message. Still, they feel they are taking part in communication in the common language of the speech community, the κοινή διάλεκτος of that community.

I use the term κοινή διάλεκτος here on purpose, although it is, of course, misleading. In most historical accounts of the history of the Greek language, as well as in modern linguistics, ‘koine’ and ‘koineization’ are used to indicate a ‘common’ vernacular language that is supposed to have developed from a classical language. But this was not the sense in which κοινή διάλεκτος was used by the Alexandrian grammarians. As I have shown elsewhere (Versteegh 1987, and see Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994) for them the meaning of the term κοινή διάλεκτος was ‘common language of all Greek-speaking people’ rather than ‘vernacular language, opposed to standard Greek’. Their use of the term ‘common language’ does not imply the universal use of this language by all speakers, literate and illiterate alike. Rather, it indicates the fact that there is such a thing as a linguistic norm that is felt to belong to the shared heritage of all Greeks. In the same way, speakers of Arabic feel that they all share *al-‘arabiyya al-(fus ‘h ‘ā)* ‘the correct Arabic language’, even though they know full well that most people are unable to use this language in ordinary speech.

Not even the literates use this idealized ‘common language’ all the time, or even most of the time. It is true that in a linguistic situation in which there is a continuum between a standard norm and a colloquial variety some speakers, especially those belonging to a social elite, will go so far as to deny the existence of any deviations from the standard in their own speech, claiming for themselves absolute purity of speech and assigning the deviations in other speakers’ speech to the category of errors or sloppy speech. But this does not mean that their own speech is any different: the vernacular is their mother tongue just as it is the mother tongue of all speakers in the speech community. It just means that they have internalized the language form they have learnt at school to such a degree that they force themselves to believe that this is their real mother tongue. Such an attitude leads to massive avoidance of all kinds of forms that are regarded as part of the vernacular.

(p.71) 4. Conclusion

In this paper I have dealt with a few methodological points concerning the relationship between written text and standard language, with few references to real speech situations. In conclusion let me sketch briefly how these methodological points tie in with my ideas about the linguistic history of Latin and Greek. According to the model I have proposed elsewhere (cf. Versteegh 1984), drastic linguistic changes only take place when there is a break in the process of language acquisition, such as the breaks that involved the mass acquisition of Greek and Latin during the Hellenization in the east and the Roman conquests in the west, respectively. The population of the territories that came under the sway of Greek and Latin domination learnt these languages imperfectly, and the resulting simplified varieties became the input for the first-language acquisition of the next generations. The result was a drastically modified linguistic structure comparable to the kind of variety that originates in a process of creolization.

According to this model the present state of Modern Greek, the Romance languages, and the Arabic dialects is the result of an extensive process of decreolization under the influence of the standard language. This influence affected the core areas, where many of the drastic changes were abolished in favour of more 'correct' forms of the language. Only the very marginal dialects were left unaffected by the influence of the standard language, as for instance in the case of Cappadocian Greek (cf. Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 215-22; Janse 1998*a, c*).

This is not the place to go into the merits of such a model for viewing the development of the languages involved. Suffice it to say that in my view the linguistic changes that affected Greek and Latin started at the very beginning of the contacts with speakers of other languages and took place within a short period of time. Such a scheme runs counter to what is commonly assumed about the history of Greek and Latin on the basis of the written record, since the written record seems to suggest a gradual change. In the case of Latin, for instance, most Romance scholars seem to assume a gradual development of the Latin language, which eventually led to the emergence of the Romance languages. The documents written in what is called Vulgar Latin are then quoted in support of this **(p.72)** conception of the history of the language: in the course of time, the number of deviations from the Classical standard increases. As we have seen above, however, this picture is misleading. The written record reflects the history of the metalinguistic attitude (the development of the standard norm) rather than an actual linguistic change. My own conclusion is that the origin of the Romance languages dates back to the beginning of the common era, when Latin became part of a continuum, of which the new colloquial varieties constituted the bottom end (cf. Křepinský 1958). In the case of Greek, the vernacular form of the language emerged as a spoken register in the very first years of Alexander's campaigns, although it did not surface in writing until centuries later (cf. Frosén 1974, and my own views in Versteegh 1987: 268–9, severely criticized by Niehoff-Panagiotidis 1994: 566–8).

On the other hand, I have tried to argue in the second part of this paper that the increasing use of vernacular forms in the written record does not imply that the standard language had become a 'dead letter'. The analogy with the Arabophone world suggests that the standard language continued to function as the model for formal speech in the speech community for a long period of time. In the view taken here, Greek in its Classical form remained not only the norm for writers, but was also used in speaking formally (no doubt with a heavy dose of vernacular), whereas Latin remained in use as a norm for formal speech throughout the entire medieval period. The speakers may have been aware of linguistic variation, but they continued to regard the standard language as the native language of the community, and the 'common language' continued to serve as the linguistic symbol of the entire community, even when hardly anybody was able to use it perfectly. In the Greek-speaking world one could perhaps say that this situation has survived up to the present time, even after the official abolition of diglossia (cf. Horrocks 1997: 356–65). In the Roman world the emergence of the Romance languages as national languages, complete with their own high and low registers, put an end to the use of Latin as a model for the entire speech community.

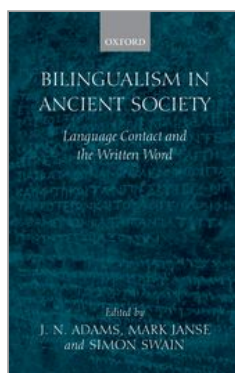
For intellectuals the emergence of the Romance languages as national languages also marked the beginning of bilingualism. From now on they were regarded by others and regarded themselves as people able to speak and write in two languages, Latin and the vernacular. In other words, bilingualism is not an objective fact either, **(p.73)** but it depends on the linguistic attitudes of the speakers whether or not one subsumes one's speaking habits under one label. The history of language is full of examples of both options: sometimes two closely related varieties are classified as separate languages (cf. Janson 1991: 26–7 for an example from South Africa), and sometimes two 'objectively' non-identical languages are treated as two varieties of the same language.

A particularly telling example is that of Hebrew and Aramaic. In Rabbinic literature 'Hebrew' ('*ivri*) is sometimes used to indicate the way of speaking of those Jews who did not speak Greek, whether they were actually speaking Hebrew or Aramaic (cf. the data in Strack and Billerbeck 1956: 442–53). Likewise 'Εβραϊστί or ἐν τῇ 'Εβραϊδὶ διαλέκτῳ in the New Testament may indicate either that someone was speaking 'Hebrew', as opposed to 'Aramaic', or 'Hebrew/Aramaic', as opposed to 'Greek'. In fact it seems that the two languages were perceived to be two levels of the same language. This means that references to language use cannot be used *per se* as evidence of actual use (for the linguistic situation in Roman Palestine see Mussies 1976; Rabin 1976; Rosén 1980; Schmitt 1980; Meyers and Strange 1981; Spolsky 1983).

In the view sketched here the arising of a situation with a standard and a colloquial variety is connected with the forced adoption of a language by a large majority, usually in an area that has recently been conquered, as in the case of the Roman conquests (or in the case of Arabic as it was spread during the Islamic conquests). The example of Sanskrit (cf. Pollock 1996) shows that the spreading of the standard language does not have to be associated with military force, but may have other explanations. As we have seen above, independent political entities in South-East Asia outside the Indian subcontinent adopted Sanskrit for the formal inscriptions in which they proclaimed their royal power. The substance of the text was then expressed in the local, indigenous language. This means that Sanskrit had received a special supranational role without any military conquest. There were no Sanskrit-speaking garrisons anywhere in South-East Asia, and there never was any colonization of these areas by Sanskrit-speaking troops. Such an international use of a standard language may be politically inspired, as in the case of Sanskrit, or it may be simply for diplomatic reasons, as in the case of Arabic in West Africa. The rulers of the countries of West Africa did not only use Arabic for their correspondence with **(p.74)** Arabic-speaking countries such as Egypt, but also in correspondence among themselves, simply because it was the only supranational written language available (cf. Hunwick 1964: 32–3).

In the case of the Roman and Islamic Empires there was of course a military occupation of the territories to which Latin and Arabic were exported. The example of Greek shows that there are other modalities to the export of a standard language to a large area. Here military conquest was no doubt less important than the process of transculturation that was Hellenism, and when the military hegemony stopped, the cultural and linguistic domination continued to be in force. Likewise, standard languages are sometimes exported in the wake of a religious mission, even when this mission is not accompanied by military force.

Coming back to the dichotomy 'dead'/'alive' in the title of this paper, we may now conclude that quite apart from the conceptual problem of applying biological notions to the phenomenon of human language, these notions do not even provide us with an accurate picture of the actual status of the standard language in the linguistic history of speech communities. The standard language is neither dead nor alive but is part of the total linguistic continuum. The reflection of this continuum in the written sources does not depend on the actual linguistic situation, but is a function of the linguistic attitudes within the speech community. The value of the written sources as evidence of linguistic competence and practice in the speech community, whether this extends to different registers of the same language, or to different languages in a situation of bilingualism, is, therefore, highly limited. Because of their nature the sources do reflect, however, the linguistic attitude of the community towards the standard language or the language of socio-cultural prestige. In that sense they may help us reconstruct the sociolinguistic situation of that community, provided we do not regard them as direct evidence of the way people actually spoke.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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The Graeco-Romans and Graeco-Latin: A Terminological Framework for Cases of Bilingualism

FRÉDÉRIQUE BIVILLE

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Abstract and Keywords

Greek-Latin bilingualism, which was part of the much broader multilingualism that characterised the Roman world, was not, as has frequently been observed, symmetrical. It was considerably more developed and more common on the Roman than the Greek side. This chapter establishes a typological and terminological framework for those linguistic encounters which arose from the use of Greek and Latin in conjunction and for the effects which bilingualism had on each language. Particular attention is paid to phenomena which could only have arisen in the context of these contact situations. The discussion is presented from the Roman and Latin perspective.

Keywords: Greek, Latin, bilingualism, terminology, contact situations, Roman

THE existence of Greek—Latin bilingualism is now beyond dispute. It had indeed received official recognition in Roman times, as demonstrated by expressions such as *Graece/Latine scire, loqui*, and that celebrated badge of classical learning, *utraque lingua eruditus*, ‘versed in both languages’.¹ A range of recent studies, in particular those of Jorma Kaimio and Michel Dubuisson, have helped to bring the linguistic landscape of the Graeco-Roman world into relief. I shall be concerned in this paper to begin establishing a typological and terminological framework for those linguistic encounters which arose from the use of the two languages in conjunction and for the effects which bilingualism had on each language. Particular attention will be paid to phenomena which could only have arisen in the context of these contact situations.

Greek–Latin bilingualism—itself part of the much broader mul-tilingualism which characterized the Roman world—although obviously bilateral, was not, as has frequently been observed, symmetrical. It was considerably more developed and more common on the Roman than the Greek side. In view of my particular interest **(p.78)** in the Hellenization of the Latin language, I shall be specially concerned here with the Roman and Latin perspective.

A. Greek And Latin

1. Greek–Latin Bilingualism: An Individual and a Collective Phenomenon

Any bilingual situation implies the existence of at least three categories of speaker within a single community: in the present case, those who only spoke Latin, those who only spoke Greek,² and those who spoke both Latin and Greek. This final category was especially complex and heterogeneous, bringing together speakers whose mother tongues were Greek, Latin, or indeed any of the other languages spoken in the multilingual Roman Empire. Levels of language ability varied considerably between members of this category. The *Synepirotae*, wealthy sheep farmers from Epirus, who feature in the second book of Varro’s *Res rusticae*, were Romans who had been fully Hellenized, to the point of speaking Greek as fluently as they did Latin. It comes as no surprise, then, that they are greeted and addressed in Greek:

(1) Varr. *RR* 2. 1. 2: ut semigraecis pastoribus dicam Graece, “ὅς πέπ μου ...”

to speak Greek to farmers who are half-Greek ... [*a Homeric formula follows*]

Ibid. 2. 5. 1: *Synepirotae*, χαίρετε

Greetings, fellow citizens of Epirus!

The 'Greek' term *συν-ἡπειρωταί*, coined specially for the occasion, is well suited to describe this Roman community (*syn-*) which had settled in a Greek-speaking area and took part in the two cultures and their two languages (*semigraeci*). Three centuries later, however, the Greek-speaking narrator of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* confesses to the manifold difficulties which beset his attempts to learn Latin:

(p.79)

(2) Apul. *Met.* 1. 1. 4-5: *ibi linguam Attidem primis pueritiae stipendiis merui. mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore, nullo magistro praeunte, aggressus excolui. en ecce praefamur ueniam siquid exotici ac forensis sermonis, rudis locutor, offendero.*

There I served my stint with the Attic tongue in the first campaigns of childhood. Soon afterwards, in the city of the Latins, as a newcomer to Roman studies, I attacked and cultivated their native speech with laborious difficulty and no teacher to guide me. So, please, I beg your pardon in advance if as a raw speaker of this foreign tongue of the Forum I commit any blunders. (trans. Hanson).

The same variation between ability levels in Greek and Latin was also to be found among the 'barbarians'. On the one hand, there were cultivated figures of social standing, such as Emperor Claudius' anonymous interlocutor, the memory of whom has been preserved by Suetonius:

(3) Suet. *Cl.* 42. 2: *cuidam barbaro Graece ac Latine disserenti: 'cum utroque' inquit 'sermone nostro sis paratus'.*

Speaking to a barbarian who was able to conduct a conversation in Greek and in Latin, he said, 'Given that you are adept in both our languages'.

On the other hand, there were uneducated emancipated slaves similar to those caricatured by Petronius in his character Trimalchio:

(4) Petr. 64. 5: *nescio quid taetrum exhibilauit quod postea Graecum esse affirmabat.*

He hissed something horrendous which he later claimed was Greek.

Ibid. 73. 3: *sicut illi dicebant qui linguam eius intellegebant.*

At least according to those who could understand his tongue.

2. Dualities of Code and Denomination

The existence of two languages of culture and communication entailed a duality of codes and denominations, presenting speakers with an array of possible options. Their choices would have been indicative of their socio-cultural background and their discursive strategies. Thus, the cultural capital of Magna Graecia, Tarentum, **(p.80)** could either be called *Taras*, *-antis*, in the Greek manner (*Τάρας*, *-αντος*), or *Tarentum*, *-i*, in the Latin. The god of the underworld could be invoked by the name *Dis*, *Ditis*, or the Greek equivalent, *Pluto* (*n*), of which it is a literal translation. It was permissible in the Graeco-Roman world to greet someone in either the Greek or the Roman manner (*χαῖ ρε* or *(h)aue*), depending on one's origins and ideology of election. Thus whoever was unable to utter the simplest greeting in either language thereby doubly contravened the rules of good breeding, as Martial shows amusingly in this episode featuring a bogus lawyer:

(5) Mart, 5. 51. 6–7: hic ... exprimere ... 'haue' Latinum, *χαῖ ρε* non potest Graecum. | si fingere istud me putas, salutemus.
He cannot say hello in either Greek or Latin. If you think I'm making it up, let's say hello to him.

The selfsame object could simultaneously acquire a Greek and a Latin name, one for each of the two dominant speech communities in the Roman world. During the following attack on the scale of clientship in the first century AD, and the abuses it had spawned, Pliny the Younger informs us of two particularly significant neologisms, both of which refer to this new breed of parasite:

(6) Plin. *Ep.* 2. 14. 4–6: in media basilica tam palam sportulae quam in triclinio dantur ... inde iam non inurbane *Σοφοκλεῖς* *ς* uocantur; isdem Latinum nomen impositum est 'Laudiceni' ... foeditas utraque lingua notata.

The *sportula* is distributed as freely in the middle of the basilica as it is in the dining-room. Hence now they are known wittily as *Σοφοκλεῖς* *ς* ['those who shout [*καλέω*] bravo! [*σοφῶς*]'] and they also have the Latin name *Laudiceni* ['they who praise in the hope of being invited to dinner']. This disgraceful practice has been identified in both languages.

As is shown by other texts of the same period, in particular Martial's *Epigrams*, the existence of these twin, bilingual denominations is indicative of a division between clients from two competing social groups: freedmen from the Greek East, who spoke Greek, and toga-wearing, Latin-speaking Roman clients. Thus linguistic usage, particularly where technical languages are concerned, can highlight the existence of cultural 'fault-lines'. In his *Apophoreta* Martial contemplates some balls of *aphronitrum*, which was used **(p.81)** as a detergent, and envisages their two categories of potential user, glossing and translating literally the Greek compound *ἀφρό-νιτρον* by the Latin phrase *spuma nitri*:

(7) Mart. 14. 58: *rusticus es? nescis quid Graeco nomine dicar? | 'Spuma' vocor 'nitri'. Graecus es? 'aphronitrum'.*

'Uneducated? Don't know what I am called in Greek? They call me 'froth of nitre'. You are a Greek? Then I'm 'aphronitre'.

It was not always possible for speakers to choose between the two languages. Sometimes, for cultural or structural reasons (such as the lack of an article in Latin), one language does not have an equivalent for something that can be expressed in the other, as in the case of the legal term for an illegitimate son, or the philosophical concept of 'being':

(8) Quint. 3. 6. 96-7: *'nothum', qui non sit legitimus, Graeci uocant; Latinum rei nomen ... non habemus, ideoque utimur peregrino.*

The Greeks call one who is illegitimate *nothus*; we have no equivalent in Latin, which is why we use the foreign word.

(9) Sen., *Ep.* 58. 6-8: *οὐσία... nullo modo Latine exprimere possim ... unam syllabam esse quam mutare non possum ... τὸ ὄν... posse sic transferri, ut dicam 'quod est'. sed multum interesse uideo.*

I simply cannot express in Latin [the Greek concept of] *οὐσία*. There is [likewise] a single syllable (*τὸ ὄν*), which I cannot alter. It could be translated by *quod est*, but there is a great difference [between the two].

Thus bilingualism gave rise to quite a range of discursive strategies, some of which privileged one language by excluding the other, while others allowed both languages to coexist within a single utterance by means of quotations, metalinguistic insertion, or, more spontaneously, by code-switching:

(10) Cic. *Verr.* 5. 148: *ἐδικαιώθησαν, hoc est, ut Siculi loquuntur, supplicio adfecti ac necati sunt.*

'Sentence was passed on them', that is, as the Sicilians say, they have been punished and put to death.

(11) Mart. 5. 38. 3: *'quadringenta seca' qui dicit, ἀὐτὸ ἀμείρει.*

To suggest 'sharing [between two brothers] the sum of four hundred thousand sesterces [the equivalent of the equestrian census]' is to cut figs in half.

(p.82) In the last example the use in apodosis of the Greek expression, which is at once proverbial and trivial, has a powerful argumentative effect: the inheritance seems utterly worthless, as do the opportunities for social betterment that it seemed to promise.

3. Bilinguals and Monolinguals

Whether an individual had mastered both languages or had shortcomings in either one of them was, then, a matter of fundamental importance in the Roman world. It is usually claimed, a little too hastily, that bilingualism was a universal phenomenon. This was possibly the case in the upper echelons of society, as the examples of Crassus, Cicero, and the first Roman emperors suggest:

(12) [Crassus] Cic. *De orat.* 2. 2: ilium Graece sic loqui nullam ut nosse aliam linguam uideretur.

He spoke Greek so well that he seemed to know no other language

Quint, 11. 2. 50: quinque Graeci sermonis differentias sic tenuit ut qua quisque apud eum lingua postulasset, eadem ius sibi redditum ferret.

Such was his mastery of the five Greek dialects that he was able to deliver judgments in whichever variety he had been addressed in.

(13) [Tiberius] Suet. *Tib.* 71. 1: sermone Graeco ... promptus et facilis.

He spoke Greek fluently, without the slightest difficulty.

Yet if the following passage of Cicero is to be believed—and supporting evidence can readily be adduced—it would appear that fewer were fully bilingual than has previously been claimed, either actively (*exprimere*) or passively (*intellegere*):

(14) Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 116: nostri Graece fere nesciunt, nec Graeci Latine. ergo hi in illorum, et illi in horum sermone surdi, omnesque item nos in iis Unguis quas non intellegimus, quae sunt innumerabiles, surdi profecto sumus.

Few of our people know Greek and few likewise are the Greeks who know Latin. Thus we are deaf to their language and they to ours. Similarly, we are all of us deaf to those languages—and they are innumerable—which we do not understand.

(p.83) 3.1. Monolinguals

Lack of bilingual competence³—*imperitus, ignarus, expers (linguae or sermonis), surdus esse*—was not a function of socio-cultural position, for all social classes contained both bi- and monolinguals. Suetonius mentions the fate of a Greek worthy whom the emperor Claudius deprived of Roman citizenship because he could not speak Latin:

(15) Suet. *Cl.* 16. 4: splendidum uirum Graeciaeque prouinciae principem, verum Latini sermonis ignarum, non modo albo iudicium erasit, sed in peregrinitatem redegit.

He struck from the list of judges a distinguished man, a leading figure in the province of Greece, who did not know Latin, and even went as far as to revoke his citizenship.

All manner of lets and hindrances impeded those who did not know, or did not know enough of, the second language, and being held up to ridicule was by no means the most serious of these. In a famous epigram (84) Catullus describes the predicament of Arrius, who had failed to grasp the rules for the aspiration of vowels and consonants. Quintilian drew attention to the difficulties faced by Greeks who tried to pronounce the Latin /f/, at least before their own letter *φ* became a spirant:

(16) Quint. 1. 4. 14: Graeci aspirare 'f' ut *φ* solent, ut pro Fundanio Cicero testem qui primam eius litteram dicere non possit irridet.

The Greeks aspirate the letter *f* like their *phi*; for example, Cicero in *Pro Fundanio* makes fun of a witness who is unable to pronounce the first letter of this name.

A more serious consequence of lack of bilingual competence was cognitive failure, particularly in the case of proper nouns, which cannot be paraphrased by home-grown synonyms. This cause of ignorance could prove especially dangerous in legal matters:

(17) Quint. 12. 10. 57: cum interrogasset rusticum testem an 'Amphionem' nosset, negante eo, detraxit aspirationem brevitatque secundam eius nominis syllabam, et eum sic optime norat.

When the judge asked the uneducated witness [i.e. one who had no Greek] whether he knew *Amphionem*, and the witness said that he did not, the judge repeated the name without an aspirate and with **(p.84)** a shortened second syllable [in place of the Hellenized pronunciation, *Amph ῑ ōnem* = 'Αμφίονα, he substituted the Latin pronunciation, *Ampīōnem*], and then he knew him well.

Yet the Roman world was so thoroughly steeped in Hellenism that even someone who had not learnt Greek would still have been able to understand and deploy a whole host of Greek words and a number of commonly used phrases, such as the following courtroom formula:

(18) Cic. *Flacc.* 10: illud ... 'da mihi testimonium mutuum' [= Δάνειζέ μοι μαρτυρίαν]... totum istud Graecorum est, ut etiam qui Graece nesciunt hoc quibus uerbis a Graecis dici soleat sciant.

The expression 'May I have a loan of your evidence' is completely Greek, so that even those who do not speak Greek know the words with which this is typically expressed by the Greeks.

(19) Cic. *ND* 2. 91: 'aer', Graecum illud quidem, sed perceptum iam tamen usu a nostris, tritum est enim pro Latino.

The word *aer* is Greek, but has already been accepted in the usage of our people, and is in fact commonly used as Latin.

(*Aer* was indeed pan-Roman.)

3.2. Intermediaries: interpreters, translators, and popularizers

To enable spoken communication (*commercium linguae*) between the two linguistic communities, in order that everyone could understand the language of his interlocutor (Ulp. *Dig.* 45. 1. 1. 6: 'ut uterque alterius linguam intellegat') and thereby gain access to Graeco-Latin culture, there were professional intermediaries as well as handbooks of bilingual conversation, such as the *Hermeneu-mata Dositheana*, collected in the third volume of the *CGL*.⁴ These handbooks supplied lists of everyday words and phrases, such as the words for bread, *toxomin* [τὸ Ψωμί(o)v]=*pane*, or fish, *opxarin* [ὀΨάρι(o)v]=*pisces*. Professional interpreters (*interpretes*, ἐρμηνεύς) entered the picture when political or administrative matters were being discussed, in commercial negotiations, and, in the Christian era, in religious services. The *Itinerary of Egeria* offers an unusual and interesting copulative compound, *Graecolatini*, in the course of an account of the services of Holy Week in Jerusalem, in which **(p. 85)** three linguistic communities (Aramaic, Greek, and Latin) were taking part:

(20) Egeria 47. 3-4; episcopus ... semper Graece loquitur ...; episcopo Graece dicente Siriste interpretatur, ut onirics audiant quae expo-nuntur ... sane quicumque hic Latini sunt, id est qui nec Siriste nec Graece nouerunt, ne contristentur, et ipsis exponitur eis, quia sunt alii fratres et sorores Graecolatini, qui Latine exponunt eis.

The bishop always speaks Greek; a simultaneous translation into Aramaic is provided so that everyone can follow. But if there are any Latins present—that is, speakers of neither Aramaic nor Greek—they are not disappointed because they also get a rendering. For there are other brothers and sisters who know Greek and Latin, and they provide a rendering in Latin for them.

To turn to an interpreter (*per interpretem*) for a translation of what was being said or to articulate what one wanted to say did not necessarily indicate a deficiency in one's own bilingual ability or the inability to speak for oneself. It could also signal an attitude or an obligation, as was the case with Roman magistrates in the exercise of their official functions.

Written communication was mediated by translators (*e Graeco in Latinum uertere* 'to translate from Greek into Latin', *uerbum e uerbo exprimere* or *reddere* 'to translate word for word'), who were more or less faithful (*fidus*) to the original, and more or less fluent (*(in)disertus*). Although he was remarkably well versed in Greek culture himself, the emperor Augustus was not always able to express himself fluently enough in Greek (*expedite loqui*) to risk writing (*componere, formare*) in that language and thus would resort to translators (*uertere* 'to translate'):

(21) Suet. *Aug.* 89. 1: in quibus [=Graecis disciplinis] praestabat largiter ... non tamen ut aut loqueretur expedite aut componere aliquid auderet; nam et si quid res exigeret, Latine formabat, uertendumque alii dabat. In these [Greek disciplines] he excelled, but did not speak [Greek] fluently and would not risk writing it. When circumstances demanded something [in Greek], he would write in Latin and give it to someone else to translate.

In the literary sphere, the ‘translator’ was first and foremost one who *adapted*, even if the same verbs (*uertere*, *interpretari*) could be used to refer to either activity:

(p.86)

(22) Pl. *Tr.* 18: huic Graece nomen est ‘Thesauro’ fabulae; Philemo scripsit. Plautus uertit barbare. In Greek, this play is called ‘The Treasure’; it was written by Philemon. Plautus adapted it to the barbarian tongue [i.e. Latin].

Referring to the first ‘Latin’ authors, Livius Andronicus and Ennius, Suetonius uses the compound hybrid term *semigraeci* to qualify these pioneering cultural intermediaries who played leading roles in the Hellenization of the Romans:

(23) Suet. *Gramm.* 1. 1: antiquissimi doctorum, qui idem et poetae et semigraeci erant—Livium et Ennium dico, quos utraque lingua domi forisque docuisse adnotatum est—nihil amplius quam Graecos interpretabantur aut, si quid ipsi Latine composuissent, praelegebant. The earliest teachers, who were also poets and half-Greek—I mean Livius and Ennius, who are on record as having taught in both languages in public and in private—would simply translate the Greek authors or read out whatever they had composed themselves in Latin.

This body of translated and adapted literary works provoked particular responses and had certain specific linguistic consequences which could only have arisen in a bilingual context: autonymic bilingual utterances which set Greek terms alongside their Latin equivalents, short-lived verbal inventions, morphological and semantic calques, as well as unsponsored lexemes that did not entirely fit the structures of the language, Latinate in form but of foreign conception. These were particularly common in works of a technical nature:

(24) Cic. *Tusc.* 3, 7: perturbationes animi... haec enim fere sunt eius modi quae Graeci πάθη appellant; ego poteram ‘morbos’, et id uerbum esset e uerbo, sed in consuetudinem nostram non eaderet. The Greeks call the passions ‘illnesses’, and I could have suggested *morbi*, which would be the literal translation, yet this would not accord with our common usage.

(25) Gell. 1. 20. 8 [a Euclidian definition of the line]: 'linea' ... a nostris dicitur quam γραμμὴν Graeci nominant ... [9] γραμμή est μήκος ἀπλατές, quod exprimere uno Latino uerbo non queas, nisi audeas dicere 'inlatabile'.

We call *linea* what the Greeks call *grammē*... the *grammē* is a 'length without width', something which cannot be expressed in just one word in Latin, short of risking *inlatabile* [a morphosemantic calque from ἀ-πλατ-ές].

(p.87) There was then a very clear sense of what it was possible to say in one language or the other, of what was or was not in agreement with the structures of that language, of the correct and the erroneous. The Greek spoken by Romans varied in quality (*Graecior* vs. *minus Graecum*). That spoken by Pudentilla, the wife of Apuleius, was good, quite unlike that of the defamatory letter that some tried to attribute to her husband:

(26) Apul. *Apol.* 87. 4-5: tarn uitiosis uerbis, tarn barbaro sermone ... epistulam Pudentillae Graecatiorem.

Such faulty language, so barbarous ... [whereas] the Greek in Pudentilla's letter was quite authentic.

The quality of the bilingualism could be gauged by the proportion of barbarisms and solecisms—which did not always arise spontaneously, for it was sometimes considered inappropriate for a Roman to have too sure a command of Greek:

(27) Cic. *Att.* 1. 19. 10: quo facilius illas probaret Romani hominis esse, idcirco barbara quaedam et soloeca dispersisse.

So that it would be quite clear that his work had been written by a Roman, he deliberately peppered his text with barbarisms and solecisms.

(28) Plin. *Ep.* 4. 3, 4-5: hominemne Romanum tarn Graece loqui? ... inuideo Graecis quod illorum lingua scribere maluisti.

Is it possible for a Roman to speak Greek so well? I envy the Greeks the fact that you have chosen to speak their language.

Indeed language, culture, and national identity were all implicated in a single drive by Rome to assert its individuality and its supremacy in the face of the cultural imperialism of the Greek world. Language, the vehicle of culture and communication, was also a badge of citizenship.

4. Language and Culture: Acculturation and the Loss of Cultural Identity

4.1. The 'nationality code'⁵

There can be no discussion of bilingualism without raising the question of what being Roman involved. Choice of language was **(p.88)** one aspect of what might be termed the 'nationality code'. The *ciuis Romanus* saw himself as one who belonged to a nation (*patria*), a race (*genus*), and a people whose language commanded respect (*sermo patrius*, 'the national language'), and with whom he shared certain institutions and customs (*mores, usus, consuetudo*) and a way of dressing (*habitus*):

(29) Cic. *Verr.* 5. 167: ciues ... Romanos qui et sermonis et iuris et multarum rerum societate iuncti sunt.

The citizens of Rome are united into a single community by language, law, and many other things.⁶

He belonged to a community which set itself against all that was not Roman, a category which encompassed barbarian and Greek alike:⁷ *Romanus* vs. *alienus, peregrinus; nos (Romani)* vs. *illi (Graeci)*. Yet there were of course exceptions to this rude of opposites. The historical legacy, in particular that of colonization and immigration, meant that in spite of the division between the Latin-speaking West and the Greek-speaking East, there were Greek enclaves in the West just as there were Latin communities in the East. Accordingly, Strabo describes the preservation of the language and institutions of Greece in Naples under the Empire:⁸

(30) Strabo 5. 237: γυμνάσια, ἐφηβὲς ἱεῖα, φρατρίαι ὀνόματα Ἑλληνικά, καίπερ ὄντων Ῥωμαίων.

The gymnasium, the *ephēbeia*, and the *phratritai* [are Greek institutions which] have Greek names, even though the city is under Roman rule.

There were also people who belonged to both communities for ancestral reasons, such as the *Hybrida Persius* described by Horace's scholiast as a *semiromanus*:

(31) Acron ad Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 2: Hybrida: Semiromanus.

Porphyryon ad Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 2: Persium parentes habuisse ... Graecum et Romanam aut Romanum et Graecam, et ideo Hybridam appellatum.

(p.89)

Persius had a Greek father and a Roman mother, or a Roman father and a Greek mother, which earned him the nickname Hybrida.

Others 'changed sides'. There were Romanized Greeks and Hellenized Romans, and this change of status sometimes manifested itself in a change of name and even of identity. When she masqueraded as a prostitute, the empress Messalina went by the borrowed Greek name (*mentita*) of *Lycisca*, a diminutive form of λύκος, 'the female wolf', a common name for a prostitute, just like the Latin *lupa*:

(32) Iuv. 6. 123: meretrix Augusta ... | prostitit ... titulum mentita Lyciscaae.

A clever epigram of Martial's features one Cinnamus (the name of a famous Hellenistic perfumer) who preferred to be called *Cinna*, a hypocoristic for *Cinnamus* formed in accordance with the very common Greek practice of truncating proper nouns.⁹ Yet this very process turned him into a Roman by identifying him with prominent figures in Roman history:

(33) Mart. 6. 17: 'Cinnam', Cinname, te iubes uocari: | non est hic, rogo, Cinna, barbarismus?
Cinnamus, you want to be called 'Cinna'. Is that not, Cinna, a barbarism?

This linguistic practice peculiar to proper nouns allowed him to erase both his ethnic origin and his social status, which were those of an emancipated Western Greek slave, and to adopt instead the pseudo-identity of a Roman citizen.

4.2. The process of acculturation

Along with bilingualism, such transferrals of allegiance were part of a wider process of acculturation (*imitatio, similitudo*). This involved the attempt to imitate in word and deed a social and cultural model deemed to be superior. A Roman knight (Nep. *Att.* 1. 1: *stirpis Romanae generatus*) who had been posted to Athens took this to such exemplary extremes that he earned the nickname of *Atticus*:

(34) Nep. *Att.* 4. 1: sic enim Graece loquebatur ut Athenis natus uideretur; tanta autem suauitas erat sermonis Latini, ut appareret in eo natium quemdam leporem esse, non ascitum.

(p.90)

He spoke Greek so well that one would have thought he had been born in Athens, He had such a charming way of speaking Latin that one felt he did so naturally, rather than by training.

These transferrals of allegiance were often viewed as betrayals by members of the original community. So it was in the cases of the Sicilian Greek Timasitheus and Albucius the Roman, who were both judged severely (cf. example (28) above for the verdict of Pliny the Younger on Arrius Antoninus):

(35) Liv. 5. 28, 3: Timasitheus quidam, Romanis uir similior quam suis.
One Timasitheus [the chief magistrate of Sicily in 393 BC], who was more like a Roman than he was his fellow compatriots [the Sicilian Greeks].

(36) Lucil. ap. Cic. *Fin.* 1. 1-9: Graece ergo ... | ... te ... saluto: | χαῖ ρε, inquam 'Tite!'

Therefore I greet you in Greek: χαῖ ρε [You, Albucius, praetor of Rome, who prefer to act like a Greek rather than a Roman].

4.3. The Latin vocabulary of acculturation

The Roman practice of imitating the Greeks, which involved adopting their language and their values, gave rise to a specific vocabulary of acculturation, which allowed Romans to become, depending on their level of assimilation, either Greeks (*Graeci*), or half-Greeks (*semigraeci*), or pseudo-Greeks (*Graeculi*). When applied to a Roman, the expression *Graecus esse* was the mark of complete acculturation: 'te ... Graecum', 'The Greek that you are', says Cicero to Atticus (*Att.* 1. 20. 6). In Martial (cf. example (7)), *Graecus es* refers to an educated Roman versed in Greek literature, as distinct from *rusticus*, which denoted an uneducated local. Juvenal (3. 61) goes so far as to describe Rome, 'colonized' by Greek immigrants from the East, as *Graeca urbs*. The derivative verb, *graecari*, was coined to denote various ways of behaving, and more generally ways of living, that were distinctively Greek: Greek sports, ball and discus games (*Hor. Sat.* 2. 2. 11-13), as well as the practice of drinking toasts at banquets (*pergraecari*, *congraecari*=*Graeco more bibere*, *propinare*, *propin ferre*).

The *semigraeci* (cf. example (23)), Romans who had been educated in the language and culture of Greece, served as intermediaries between the two communities. *Graec-uli* and the derivative **(p.91)** denominatives, *graec-anicus*, *graec-issare* (cf. in Greek, $\rho' \omega\mu\alpha\text{-}\overset{\leftrightarrow}{\iota} \zeta\omega$, $\rho' \omega\mu\alpha\text{-}\dot{\iota}\kappa\omega\varsigma$, $\Lambda\alpha\tau\iota\nu\omicron\text{-}\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$), denoted those whose imitations left something to be desired, indeed they suggested deviance and degeneracy.

(37) Cled. *GL* v. 54. 27-9: Frequentativa ... 'graecissat': Graece adfec-tat ... uelut similitudinem tenent.

Frequentative verbs ... such as *Graecissare*, 'to behave like a Greek'... imitate their way of doing things.

(38) Apul. *Apol.* 98. 8 [on his son-in-law]: loquitur numquam nisi punice, et si quid adhuc a matre graecissat; enim Latine loqui neque vult neque potest.

He only ever speaks Punic, even though he still knows a little Greek, from his mother; as for speaking Latin, he couldn't even if he wanted to.

(39) Apul. *Met.* 1. 1. 6: fabulam Graecanicam.

A Milesian story in the Greek style [one which is set in the Greek part of the Roman Empire but written in Latin].

A *Graeculus* ¹⁰ was not a fully fledged Greek, either because he had been displaced and emigrated to the Latin-speaking West, as in the case of the *Graeculus esuriens*, Juvenal's hungry Greek at 3. 78 (who, in any case, would hardly have been a 'proper' Greek: more often than not, those of his kind came from the Greek-speaking East but were unschooled in the language and culture of classical Greece), or because the term referred to a Roman who simply wanted to pass for Greek:

(40) Juv. 6. 186: nisi de Tusca quae Graecula facta est |... omnia Graece.
Unless she has converted herself from an Etruscan into a Greekling...
They [women] do everything in Greek.

The attribute of 'Greekness' could be qualified by adding the diminutive suffix *-ulus*, thereby diluting the meaning and suggesting a lack of authenticity. The diminutive ending thus performs a function similar to that of the adjectives in phrases such as *Magna Graecia*, '(Great Greece', 'Great' because it goes beyond its borders, and *Graecia exotica* (P1. *Men.* 236), 'overseas Greece', which was not Greece as such but referred rather to Greek colonies in the south of Italy.

(p.92) B. Graeco-Latin

5. *One Culture, Two Languages*

If the Roman world was characterized by its use of two languages, it also manifested a conflicting desire to take over the language and culture of Greece with a view to narrowing the distance and eliding the difference between the two peoples, thereby fashioning for itself a unitary culture: *utroque sermone nostra* (Suet. *Cl.* 42. 2, cf. example (3)), 'our two languages'. This ambivalence enabled playful experimentation with, and reversal of, roles. One such reversal was imagined by the emperor Augustus on witnessing the arrival in the port of Pozzuoli of a boat from Alexandria:

(41) Suet. *Aug.* 98. 2-4: lege proposita ut Romani Graeco, Graeci Romano habitu et sermone uterentur.
On condition that the Romans adopt the Greek style of dress and language, and the Greeks adopt those of the Romans.

Such was the extent to which Greek culture permeated the world of the Romans that their choice of linguistic code (script included) could sometimes be a matter of merely secondary importance. Thus a Greek quotation, once introduced as such, could be given in Latin, preserving the general gist but without regard for the form of words:

(42) Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 41: bene enim illo Graecorum prouerbio praecipitur:
'Quam quisque norit artem ...'.
For it is a good rule laid down in the well-known Greek saying, 'The art which each man knows ...'.

Equally, a 'Greek' etymology could be given together with an explanation in the form of a Latin synonym:

(43) Sall. *BJ* 78. 3: 'Syrtes' ab tractu nominatae.
The Syrtes get their name from their force of attraction.

It was up to the alert and learned reader to switch languages, mentally replacing the Latin *trahere*, suggested by *tractu*, with its Greek equivalent *σύρειν*, and thereby solving the riddle. This constant interrelating of Greek and Latin encouraged a wealth of subtle wordplay and occasioned explanations of both an etymological and an **(p.93)** aetiological kind which modern readers almost certainly experience much greater difficulty in unravelling than their counterparts in antiquity. It is not immediately apparent from the name of the first followers of the cult of Hercules, the *Pinarii*, that they were 'those who remained hungry' (*πείνᾶω*, 'to be hungry') because they came too late to eat the entrails of their sacrificed victims (Liv. 1. 7. 13: *Pinarii extis adesis, ne extis solemnibus uescerentur*). The joke, which is not in the best of taste, and the clever game which underscores Martial's epigram (3. 78), can only be understood by one able to break down the proper name *Palinurus* into *πάλιν οὐπὲρ ἵν' = meiere iterum*:

(44) Mart. 3. 78: minxisti currente semel, Pauline, carina. | meiere uis iterum? iam Palinurus eris.

You pee'd once, Paulinus, as your boat was moving. Do you want to do it again? Then you'll be Palinurus.¹¹

In this way Latin gained an equal footing with Greek, to the extent that it was sometimes thought of as a Greek dialect. As the distinction between the two languages became increasingly blurred, a hybrid emerged which was neither Greek nor Latin, but Graeco-Latin in character.

6. Roman Greek: The Appropriation of the Second Language

6.1. Latinized Greek

The Romans appropriated the Greek language, in particular its vocabulary (Gell. 2. 26. 9: 'spadix' ... qui factus <e> Graeco noster est). They made it their own by Latinizing it, i.e. by bending it to fit the structures of their native language. The Greek word for sailor, *ναύτης*, became the Latin *nauta*, then *nauita* when it became tied to the Latin *navis*. Latinized Greek was a degenerate (*corruptum*) and bastardized (*nothum*) form of Greek, which had ceased to bear a close resemblance to Greek (*parum similia*), as shown by the case of *λέων*, *-οντος*, or the nominative and accusative plurals *Βακχίδες*, *-δας*, Latinized as *leo*, *-ōnis*, and *Bacchidēs*:

(45) Isid. *Et.* 12. 2. 3: 'Leonis uocabulum ex Graeca origine inflexum est **(p.94)** in Latinum. Graece enim *λέων* uocatur; et est nomen nothum, quia ex parte corruptum.

The word for lion [*leo*], Greek in origin, was adapted into Latin. For in Greek it is called *λέων*, and so it is a bastardized word which is partly deformed. [viz. in the altered suffix, which changes it from the dental stem *-ont-* to the nasal stem *-on-*].

(46) Varro *LL* 10. 71: *Bacchidēs ... Bacchides ... Bacehidās ...* prima parum similia uidentur esse Graecis, unde sint tralata.

The first forms [i.e. forms like *Bacchidēs*] seem insufficiently like the Greek forms from which they are borrowed [which is not the case with the nominative *Bacchides* and the accusative *Bacchidās*, which were simply transcribed from the Greek].

This Latinized form of Greek entered common usage, and became established and self-sufficient, while gradually losing all reference to its language of origin. The word for punishment, *poena*, is a Latinized form of the Greek *ποινή*, but the following words, which are derived from it—*poenalis*, *punire*, *impune*, and others—are entirely Roman, inventions of a thoroughly Latin kind.

6.2. Greek as a Roman creation for Roman referents

The Romans were not content merely to propagate new Latin words from Greek stems. They also devised their very own Greek lexicon to meet their particular needs. Thus they developed a special form of Greek that might be termed ‘Roman Greek’, which was indisputably Greek in its essence, its elements, and the rules governing their combination, but of Roman devising for Roman referents, its architects being native speakers of Latin and Greeks who had been assimilated into the Roman world. Certain words, such as *ther-mopolium*, *amphitheatrum*, *druppa* (‘black olive’),¹² were in common usage. Others, such as *Onchesmites*, the wind from Onchesmos (Cic. *Att.* 7. 2. 1), *Apragopolis*, the ‘Town of Idleness’ (Suet. *Aug.* 98. 4), or *Pyrgopolinices* (PL *Mil.* 56), ‘Tower Town Taker’ (which breaks the rules of word formation in Greek by combining three elements), were the isolated products of authorial imagination.¹³

(p.95) 7. The Hellenization of Latin: Denaturing the First Language

7.1. The introduction of foreign elements

The fact that the Romans became Greek-speakers in earnest had an impact on the shape of the Latin language, which found itself colonized in its very midst by novel elements of foreign provenance. This process was generally perceived in negative terms as a loss of identity and a violent attack on the integrity of the language. This introduction of foreign elements affected all the various structures of the language, but it is less easy to detect where it influenced semantic change or syntactic structure, areas in which evidence of interference is most clearly displayed in translations and formulaic utterances. These foreign elements are immediately apparent, however, at the phonographic and lexical levels: the *peregrinae* (or *Graecae*) *litterae* *y* and *z* were first used in transcriptions of Greek words such as *lyro* and *zona*, before entering into the spelling of Latin words (cf. below); *h*, which indicated aspiration, became combined with the liquid *r* and the voiceless plosives to render the aspirated consonants of Greek (*rhetor*, *theatrum*). On the whole, Greek loanwords, described as *peregrina*, *Graeca*, *adventicia uerba* (e.g. *dactyliotheca*), remained discernible different from words native to Latin, *uerba Latina*, *vernacula*, and either retained their Greek inflection or bowed to pressure from Latin structures. In the latter case they became *notha uerba*, bastardized words, belonging to two linguistic universes at once (cf. example (46), *Bacchidēs*). Confronted by this intrusion into the lexicon of Greek words, some Latin authors who were purists (and nationalists), such as Cicero and Seneca, recommended retaining the meaning (the semantic content, *uis*) of the object denoted (*res*) but not the form (the signifier, *forma*, *facies*).¹⁴

7.2. The Hellenization of Latin structures

Greek linguistic structures (*Graecae figurae*), through common use (*adsidua consuetudine*), ended up taking root in the Latin language **(p.96)** (*haeserunt*), which they rendered incorrect (*uitia*, *corruptus*, *offendere*) and unnatural (*nihil integrum*). The process was insidious, quasi-natural, but could also be actively cultivated. Cicero, Quintilian, and Jerome all alerted their contemporaries to the dangers of muddying their linguistic identity in this way:

(47) Cic. *De oral*, 3, 44–5: *peregrinam insolentiam fugere discamus*.

Let us learn to shun foreign mannerisms.

(48) Quint. 1. 1. 13–14: *hoc enim accidunt et oris plurima uitia in peregrinum sonum corrupti et sermonis, cui cum Graecae figurae adsidua consuetudine haeserunt, in diuersa quoque loquendi ratione pertinacissime durant ... cum aequali cura linguam utramque tueri coeperimus, neutra alteri officiat*.

Such a course gives rise both to many faults of accent, which is degraded and takes on a foreign sound, and of speech. The latter becomes impregnated with Greek idioms through force of habit which persist with extreme obstinacy even when we are speaking another tongue ... As soon as we begin to give equal attention to both languages, neither will prove a hindrance to the other. (trans. after Butler)

(49) Jer. *Ep.* 107. 9. 1: in peregrinum sonum lingua corrumpitur, et externis uitiis sermo patrius sordidatur.

Language is degraded and takes on a foreign sound. Their native tongue is contaminated by foreign vices.

Examples of these insidious intrusions include: the use of the letters *y* and *z* to render new sounds which had arisen as the Latin language evolved; the labialization of the front vowel *i* (*uyrgo*) and the palatalization of dental plosives (*zes=dies*); in the phonetic domain, the introduction of aspiration into Latin words which had no need of it: *c(h)ommoda*, *(h)insidiae* (Catullus 84), and the accentuation of Latin words according to Greek patterns; finally, in the area of morphology, the preservation of the Greek inflection:

(50) Serg. *GL* iv. 526, 14–19: cauendumque hoc unum nequem Graecorum nominum similitudo a prescriptis regulis deducat, ut si quis dicat ‘*cuspidis*’ ... eo in fraudem inductus quod quorundam simile est Graecorum, ut *Αὐλίδος*.

We should be on our guard against allowing the similarity of certain Greek words to lead us astray from the prescribed rules, as for example if one were to say *cuspidis* ... led into error because it is similar to certain Greek words, e.g. *Αὐλίδος*.

(p.97)

(51) Cic. *Att.* 7, 3. 10: venio ad Piraeaea, in quo magis reprehendendus sum quod homo Romanus ‘Piraeaea’ scripserim, non ‘Piraeum’ (sic enim omnes nostri locuti sunt).

Now I came to Piraeus, in which matter as a Roman I am more open to criticism for writing *Piraeaea* instead of *Piraeum* (which is what all our people use).

These practices, which were common enough occurrences in the spontaneous use of spoken and written language, could also be exploited by writers, for metrical or other reasons. Virgil and Lucan showed no hesitation in Hellenizing, according to the Greek pattern *-τωρ* and *-ων*, the suffixes *-tor* and *-o* in two names which were none the less of great symbolic significance in *Roman* history, combining a long vowel with a closed final syllable: *et Capus et Numitōr* (Virg. *Aen.* 6. 768), *Puniceus Rubicōn* (Luc. 1. 214).

7.3. Hybridization

The interference of Greek structures in the morphology and lexicon of Latin was responsible for the emergence of hybrid forms with roots in both linguistic systems:

(52) Quint. 1. 5. 68: iunguntur autem ... ex nostro et peregrino, ut ‘*biclinium*’, aut contra, ut ‘*epitogium*’.

Words are formed by combining native and alien elements, e.g. *bi-clin-ium* [formed of a Greek root and a Latin prefix] or, conversely, *epi-tog-ium* [a Latin root with a Greek prefix].

Derivatives and compounds were formed by a process of hybridization, which seems not to have been given a specific name in Latin (*hybrida* was not used in this sense), other than the term *notha uerba*, which applied to Greek nouns declined in the Latin way (cf. examples (45) and (46)). Some of these hybrid words became part of the language: *epitogium*, ‘horse blanket’, *Constantinopolis*, ‘Constantinople, the city of Constantine’. They tended to be technical or literary: *Romul-idae*, the Romans, ‘descendants of Romulus’. Some were simply born of writerly invention, and these were by nature fleeting, having been designed to meet very particular literary needs:¹⁵ *Pulti-phagon-ides* (Pl. *Poen.* 54), ‘stew-eaters’; the verbal adjective *fac-teon* (Cic. *Att.* 1. 16. 13), ‘must be done’, demanded **(p.98)** by the preceding Greek word, *φιλοσοφητέον*; *σηστι-ωδέστειρον* (Cic. *Att.* 7. 17. 2), ‘characteristically Sestian’, i.e. cold and boring like Sestius. This final hybrid word, written in Greek, with a Greek construction and suffix, but Latin in its root and referent, neatly demonstrates the inadequacy of the idea that there could be a single language to which this kind of word belongs, since it is neither entirely Greek nor entirely Latin.

8. A Third Language?

8.1. A ‘mixed’ language

Hybridization is to single words what code-switching is to sentences or utterances: Greek and Latin are yoked together to produce a superior linguistic unit. Even if this synthetic product cannot, considered in its entirety, be said to be part of any one language, the elements which constitute it can still be referred to one language or the other. The two codes are used simultaneously, yet distinctly and consciously. It is in this sense that both Horace in his critique of Lucilius, and Ausonius in his playfully contrived verse, use the term *bilinguis*, to denote one who uses both languages simultaneously, who mixes up—*intermiscere*, *mixtus*—Greek and Latin:

(53) *Hon Sat.* 1. 10. 27–30: *oblitus patriae patrisque ... | patriis intermiscere petita | uerba foris malis, Canusini more bilinguis?*

Forgetful of your country and your father, would you rather mix with our native words those imported from abroad, in the manner of bilingual Canusium?

(54) *Auson. Ep.* 6. 2: *sermone alludo bilingui | ... μιγμενοβαρβαρον ω ω' δην.*

I send playful greetings in mixed language ... a mongrel barbarian strain [there follow macaronic expressions such as *ἐν τῷ for ω*].

This practice of simultaneous reliance on two languages could, where knowledge of both was shaky, and particularly amid the vagaries of daily use, give rise to the emergence of a third language born of the degeneration (*degener*) and fusion (*mixtus*) of the two original languages. From a situation in which two languages coexisted (*bilinguis*), an intermediate phase arises in which elements from each of these languages are intermingled (*mixtus*) and degraded (*degener*). Eventually, an entirely new language emerges, in **(p.99)** the same way that a new species of animal evolves through the process of hybridization.¹⁶ This is not something which classical texts record as having happened in the case of Greek and Latin, unless that is how we should interpret the following definition, which is hardly very clear, of the word *hybrida* given in a scholium to Horace:

(55) Schol. ad Hor. *Sat.* 1. 7. 2: 'hybridam' dicunt appellari qui mixto genere sermonis loquatur, Graece Latineque.

The name 'hybrid' is said to be given to those who speak a mixed variety of language, Greek and Latin,

Yet this third language must have been spoken, both by individuals and within communities of colonizers and immigrants. We can get some idea of how this language might have emerged from descriptions of similar situations encountered by other cultural and linguistic communities: the 'Gallo-Grecian' Galatians of Livy, Ovid's Getae from Tomis, and the Branchideans of Quintus Curtius:

(56) Liv. 38. 17. 9 (cf. Strabo 12. 5. 1): hi iam degeneres sunt, mixti, et 'Gallograeci' uere, quod appellantur.

They are now degenerates, of mixed race, and really the 'Gallogrecians' they are called.

(57) Ov. *Tr.* 3. 14. 46–9 (surrounded only by Getic interlocutors, Ovid loses his grip on Latin, cf. also 5. 7. 55–8): dicere saepe conanti—turpe fateri!—| uerba mihi desunt, dedicique loqui. | Threicio Scythicoque fere circumsonor ore, | et uideor Geticis scribere posse modis. | crede mihi, timeo ne sint immixta Latinis | inque meis scriptis Pontica uerba legas. Often, when I try to speak—I am ashamed to admit it—words fail me, and I have forgotten how to speak Latin. I am virtually surrounded by the sounds of Thracian and Scythian and seem to be able to write in Getic measures. I am afraid, believe me, that Pontic words have been mixed with Latin, and that you are reading them in my writings.

Ibid. 5. 2. 67–8 (on the Greek spoken by the Getae): nesciaque est uocis quod barbara lingua Latinae, | Graecaque quod Getico uicta loquela sono. The fact that the barbarian tongue is ignorant of Latin, and that Greek speech is overwhelmed by a Getic sound.

Ibid. 5. 7. 51–2: in paucis remanent Graecae uestigia linguae; | haec quoque iam Getico barbara facta sono.

(p.100)

Some of them still speak a little Greek; this too has now been rendered barbarous by a Getic sound.

(58) Curt. 7. 5. 29: mores patrii nondum exoleuerant, sed iam bilingues erant paulatim a domestico externo serrnone degeneres.

They had not altogether forgotten the customs of their country, but had already become 'bilingual', and their mother tongue was corrupted little by little from contact with a foreign language.

8.2. A 'contact' language formed by interference

The concept of a 'third language' could describe another, more abstract, entity which need not have resulted from the fusion and degeneration of the two founding languages, but rather was located at their point of intersection and which surpassed them both.

A *lexical koine*, The common Indo-European roots of Greek and Latin, together with their prolonged cohabitation and the reciprocal toings and froings to which it gave rise, led to the emergence of a Graeco-Latin lexical koine (*communia nomina*) within which particular etymological relationships became increasingly indistinct:

(59) Isid. *Et.* 20. 8. 3: 'caccabus' et 'cucuma' ... haec in Graecis et Latinis communia nomina habent, sed utrum Latini a Graecis an Graeci a Latinis haec uocabula mutuassent, incertum est.

The cauldron and the cooking-pot have the same names in Greek and in Latin, but it is hard to say whether the Latin was borrowed from the Greek, or the Greek from the Latin.

In fact, *caccabus* was borrowed from the Greek *κάκκαβος* and the Greek *κούκκονμα* was borrowed from the Latin *cucuma*. *Domus* and *δόμος*, like *fero* and *φέρω*, *me* and *με*, share a common Indo-European root; *πέπερι* and *piper* are parallel and independent borrowings from a third, Indian, language. The Greek *καμάρα*, 'vault', was appropriated by the Latin—*cámara*, *cámara*—only to return to Greek in the form of *κάμαρα*, etc.¹⁷

In addition, there were lexical units which just happened to have the same signifier in Greek and in Latin, without also having the same meaning—homonyms that were not also synonyms—such as the notorious [bini] mentioned by Cicero, which was a distributive adjective in Latin (*bini*) but an erotic verb in Greek (*βινεῖν*):

(p.101)

(60) Cic. *Fam.* 9. 22. 3: cum 'bini', obscenum est? 'Graecis quidem' iniquies ... idque tu facis, quasi ego Graece non Latine dixerim.

When we say 'bini', is it obscene? 'Yes', you will say, 'to a Greek'... and you behave as though I spoke in Greek instead of in Latin.

It was all very well for Cicero to be speaking Latin, but his bilingual interlocutor could not help superimposing the meaning of the Greek word onto that of the Latin, which had a disturbing effect on the message by making it ambivalent.

Interlexemes and intermorphemes. The coincidental existence of interlinguistic homonyms and the multiple layers of meaning which they created allowed for all manner of linguistic play. This seems to have been held in particularly high esteem in polemical writing: the consul *Florus* could be greeted by Vespasian (Suet. *Vesp.* 22. 3) with the Greek word $\phi\lambda\alpha\upsilon\rho\varsigma$, meaning ‘paltry’, without this being a straightforward insult. *Arci* (Suet. *Dom.* 13. 2) referred not only to the arches (*arcus*) which Domitian was in such a frenzy to have built but also to the exasperated response which these costly constructions drew from the Romans ($\acute{\alpha}\rho\kappa\epsilon\acute{\iota}$ ‘enough!’).

We can use the term ‘interlexeme’ to describe these lexical units with a common signifier in Greek and Latin, homonyms or paronyms, the meanings of which could be swapped or superimposed. The formal likeness between the Latin *mōra*, with short *o*, ‘delay’ (and hence *mōrari*, to linger), and the Greek $\mu\omega\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, ‘fool’, with long *o*, allowed Nero to be quietly ironic about the personality and the death of Claudius, by creating a verb *mōrari*, with long *o*, which had a double meaning and a variable vowel pattern, combining the meanings of the Latin (‘to linger’) and the Greek (‘to play the fool’):

(61) Suet, *Ner.* 33. 2: *morari eum desisse inter homines produeta prima syllaba iocabatur.*

He used to joke that he had ceased to play the fool among men, lengthening the first syllable [of *morari*].

Only a bilingual context could have given rise to such a creation. *Mōrari*, with long *o*, does not really belong to either language, but rather to the point where they intersect and overlap, to what might be called a ‘contact language’, with its very own lexemes and morphemes (‘intermorphemes’). A word such as *petrabulum* ‘catapult’ combines the forms and functions of Latin derivatives ending in *-bulum* with those of Greek composite words ending in **(p.102)** $-\beta\omicron\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, $-\beta\alpha\lambda(\lambda)\omicron\varsigma$.¹⁸ Greek-Latin bilingualism gave birth to particular morphemes such as the feminine genitive singular ending *-aes*, characteristic of Latin epigraphic writing, by combining the Latin ending *-ae* with its Greek equivalent *-ης*, as in the cognomen *Au-soniaes*, which features in a curse found on a tablet from the first century BC (*CIL* i. 2520).¹⁹ There are probably many similar occurrences which have yet to be discovered. We need more studies of bodies of epigraphic and literary material, in Greek and Latin, along the lines of the systematic investigation undertaken by M. Leiwo (1994) for Naples, and by J. N. Adams for Delos, in the present collection. Only in this way, and not by simply relying on theories developed for modern languages and societies, shall we continue to discover the facets and devices of Greek-Latin bilingualism.

Notes:

(1) *Graece loqui* (Cic. *De orat.* 2. 2); *optime Graece scire* (ibid. 2. 265); *Graece ac Latine disserenti, utroque sermone nostra paratus* (Suet. *Cl.* 42. 2); *linguam utramque tueri* (Quint. 1. 1. 14); *utraque lingua notata* (Plin. *Ep.* 2. 14. 6); *utraque lingua eruditus* (stele of Chamissa, 3rd cent. AD); *eruditissimus et Graecis litteris et Latinis* (Cic. *Brut.* 205), *lingua ductus utraque* (Mart. 10. 76. 6).

(2) I shall, for the sake of convenience, be referring to ‘Greek’ as though it were a single entity. It should be remembered, however, that the Greek language during the Roman era was in fact varied and complex: a language of communication (*lingua, sermo*), one of culture (*litterae Graecae*), and a shared tongue (the Hellenistic koine) with various dialects.

(3) *Graece nescire* (Cic. *Flacc.* 10); *Latini sermonis ignarus* (Suet. *Cl.* 16. 4); *Graecae linguae imperitum* (Apul. *Apol.* 87. 4).

(4) Kramer (1973).

(5) Wiele (1979).

(6) Which the Latin language conveys with expressions such as *uti more Latino, ad nostram consuetudinem aptus*.

(7) On the concept of the ‘barbarian’ and the place occupied by the Romans in the binary opposition which pitted first the Greeks and then the Graeco-Romans against the barbarians, see Dubuisson (1981b) and (1984).

(8) On bilingualism in Naples see Leiwo (1904).

(9) Cf. Dubuisson (1991).

(10) Cf. Dubuisson (1991).

(11) See Biville (1998) 149.

(12) Eupolis ap. Ath. 2, 56 A: $\delta\rho\upsilon\pi\epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\lambda\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\varsigma\ \textit{\text{Ῥωμαῖοι}}$ “*δρύππας*” λέγουσι; cf. Biville (1993).

(13) Biville (2000).

(14) Sen. *Tranq.* 2. 3 (concerning the concept of $\epsilon\upsilon\theta\upsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha$): ‘nec enim imitari et trans-ferre uerba ad illorum formam necesse est; res ipsa de qua agitur aliquo signanda nomine est quod appellationis Graecae uim debet habere, non faciem.’

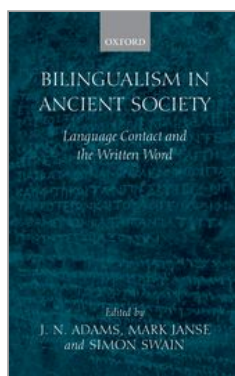
(15) Biville (2000).

(16) Biville (1997).

(17) On these complicated relationships see Biville (1992 *b*).

(18) Biville (1999)67.

(19) Cf. Leiwo (1995).



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Bilingualism at Delos

J. N. ADAMS

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Abstract and Keywords

In the second century BC, a substantial number of Italian and Greek traders of comparable status came together on the island of Delos, setting up a potential competition between the two public languages on a roughly equal footing. This chapter deals with questions of linguistic identity, that is, the perception which the *negotiatores* had of themselves and the part played by bilingualism and language choice in the establishment of identities. Other issues, more technical or linguistic, are also considered, such as the distinction between interference, code-switching, and accommodation. Code-switching is a speaker's switch from time to time into another's language as an act of solidarity or politeness. There are inscriptions in which the adoption by a Greek of the Latin pattern of filiation may be seen as a form of accommodation.

Keywords: bilingualism, Delos, language choice, linguistic identity, interference, code-switching, accommodation, Greek, Latin

1. Introduction

IN the second century BC a substantial number of Italian and Greek traders of comparable status came together on the island of Delos, and thereby set up a potential competition between the two public languages on a roughly equal footing. If there is another community like this in the Graeco-Roman world, I am not aware of it, because usually when Greeks and Romans were in contact they differed in status or in numbers. I shall be looking at Delos largely from the Italian perspective. The paper will not be about everyday language use, of which we know virtually nothing, but about the contrived use of writing on stone for public display, and it thus has little to do with bilingualism as the term might be used by linguists.¹

Delos became the earliest and largest Roman—Italian commercial community in the Greek world when, after 167, the senate expelled the Delians and the island emerged as a free-trade centre under nominal Athenian supervision.² Many inscriptions, in Greek, Latin, and both languages, dated for our purposes from about 180 BC to 70, attest the activities of Latin-speaking, or, one should more accurately say, bilingual, *negottatores*, and raise questions about the relationship between the two languages, the motivations of language choice, and the character of the bilingualism of the traders. In this paper I shall be concerned first with questions of identity, i.e. with the perception which the *negotiatores* had of themselves, and with the part played by bilingualism and language choice in the **(p.104)** establishment of identities. Other issues, more technical or linguistic, will also come up, such as the distinction between interference, code-switching, and accommodation. The paper is in two halves, the matter of identity being dealt with first, followed by a case study in the second half (Section 3).

The Italian *negotiatores* are referred to in the inscriptions variously as *Ῥωμαῖοι* or *Ἰττ ἀλικοί* (*Italici* in Latin). These are terms of controversial meaning, between which there exist two differences which do not seem to have been noticed. I shall come to this matter later.

A good deal is known about the individuals who made up the Italian presence at Delos, because inscriptions often contain an ethnic or state a place of origin for the persons referred to, and onomastic studies have thrown additional light on the origins in Italy of some of the *negotiatores*.³ In fact, where Delos is concerned we are able to answer decisively a question which is bound sometimes to cross the minds of those studying trade in the Roman Empire or indeed at any period of antiquity. How would a *negotiator* communicate with his trading partners in distant parts of the empire? Many of the *negotiatores* or members of their entourage will already have been bilingual long before they got to Delos. We know that they came not only from Latin-speaking parts of Italy, but also from Magna Graecia, and they also had with them slaves and freed men of Greek origin. A few salient examples will bear out what I say.

A prominent figure was the banker Philostratus, known from several inscriptions, most notably *ID 1724*, quoted below.⁴ This inscription reveals that he was a citizen of Naples, itself a guarantee that he would have been a Greek speaker, but interestingly he was before this a native of Ascalon. Philostratus was not the only oriental or Greek man of business who had acquired the citizenship of an Italian Greek city at this period.⁵ With his connections in both Italy and the east, he was well placed to achieve prominence in the mixed community at Delos.

Second, there is a certain Gains Seius Aristomachus, who was the freedman of the Roman Cn. Seius (*ID 2013, 2245*). In the second inscription (*Κλεοπάτραν Φιλοστρά[τ]ον Ἀραδίαν τῶν ἀπὸ Μαράθου Γάϊσο Σήιος Γναίον Ῥωμαῖος Ἀριστόμαχος. τὴν ἐαντοῦ μητέρα ΑΥ νῆι (p.105) Ἀφροδίτῃ Συρίαι θεῶι*) he makes a dedication to his mother Cleopatra, details of whose origin are given. She was from, Aradus, which was the main city of north Phoenicia, on the island of Awad. Aris-tomachus calls himself a Roman here, no doubt because he obtained citizenship on manumission, but clearly he was a Phoenician in origin, and he will have been a Greek speaker.

These two cases fit in with the general picture which can be constructed of the Italian group at Delos. There are 221 Ῥωμαῖοι of identifiable status in the inscriptions, according to Hatzfeld (1919: 247),⁶ of whom 88 are freeborn (and of these 27 are from southern Italy). No fewer than 95 others are freedmen, and a further 48 are slaves, many of whom, like Aristomachus, were no doubt of eastern origin and native speakers of Greek. So extensive was the Greek element among the Italians at Delos that problems of communication simply would not have existed. The freemen attested at Delos cannot be broken down statistically by origin, but the research by Wilson (1966) and Solin (1982 *a*) points not only to southerners, but also to natives of central Italy, including towns of Latium such as, most notably, Praeneste, and to many Romans.⁷

2. Questions of Identity

I turn now to the identity that the *negotiatores* were attempting to project, and the relevance of language choice and bilingualism to that identity. It should first be noted that many inscriptions seem to present Romans or Italians fully integrated linguistically into a Greek-speaking society, and making no concessions to their origins.⁸ For example, the banker Philostratus is the subject of a dedication in Greek by three Roman brothers who bear the *gentili-cium* Egnatius: ID 1724 [Φιλ]όστρατον [Φ] ιλοσ τρά [του] Νεαπολίτην [τ]όν πρότερον [χ]ρηματί[ζ]ον[τα] Ἀσ[κα]λωνίτην, τραπεζίτε[ύ]οντα ἐν Δήλῳ, [II] ὁ[π]λαιοῦ καὶ Γάιο καὶ Γναίος Ἐγνά [τι] οἱ κοίντου Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἑαυτ[ῶν] ἐεργέτην Ἀπόλλωνι. Not only is the inscription in Greek, but it also has a tell-tale linguistic feature. The filiation of the Romans is expressed purely by means of the genitive *Κοίντου*, (**p.106**) without *νίος*, the presence of which would have reflected the Latin formula of filiation comprising genitive+*f(iiius)*. This is a distinctive absence, to which I shall return.

In Greek areas Romans were sometimes moved to assert their Romanness by the aggressive use of Latin to Greeks who would not necessarily have understood the language.⁹ Cato at Athens addressed the Greeks in Latin, leaving it to someone else to show condescension by providing a translation.¹⁰ Valerius Maximus (2. 2. 2) refers to a policy supposedly followed by early magistrates of giving responses to Greeks only in Latin. But such forms of linguistic nationalism and aggression are simply not to be seen at Delos, where Romans (and Italians) apparently had none of the insecurity that could lead to such linguistic assertiveness.¹¹

However, the linguistic identity adopted by the *negotiatores* was not as straightforward as the above inscription might suggest, and I now turn more explicitly to the relationship between the two languages. I take as my starting-point an inscription which is not from Delos, but from Argos: CIL iii. 7265 =ILLRP 376 Q. *Maarcium Q. [f. Regem] Italicei quei negotian[tur Argeis] Κόιντον ΜαάρΚιο[ν ΚΟΪΝΤΟΥ] νίον Ῥῆγα Ἰταλικοί*. It is relevant here because it is formulaic and can be paralleled at Delos, and is straightforward and useful as an introduction.

Q. Marcius Rex was probably consul in 68 BC, and he was almost certainly honoured by the Italian *negotiatores* because of his activities against pirates at this period.¹² There are several features of this inscription which deserve comment. First, it is formulaic. Second, it contains the term *Italici*. Third, it has an unusual syntactic structure (at least by Latin standards), with the honorand in the accusative case and no verb expressed. Fourth, the name *Marcius* has a spelling with gemination of the vowel in both the Greek and the Latin versions. And finally, it is bilingual, or, to put it slightly differently, it has a Latin version as well as a Greek. I shall comment on all of these points in turn, relating them to the Delian evidence.

(p.107) 2.1. Formulaic structure

First, for the formulaic structure one might compare (e.g.) at Delos ID 1698 = *ILLRP* 369; *A. Terentium* [.] *A.* [.] *f. Varro[nem lega-tum] Italicei et Graecei quei* [.] *Delei negoti[antur]*. [*A*] ὕλον Τερέντιον Αὔλου υἱὸν Οὐ [άρρωνα πρεσβυτὴν Ῥωμαίων Ἰταλικοὶ καὶ Ἕλληνες οἱ κατ[οικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ]. Here the same conventions are observed: presence of *Italici*, the accusative structure, and virtually the same relative clause, introduced by an old spelling of the relative pronoun, and containing the same verb *negotiantur* with locative of the place name. The inscription is also bilingual. Or again, in a different place in the Greek world (Aegium in Achaea), there is *ILLRP* 370 *Italicei quei Aegei negotiantur P. Rutilium P.f. Nudum q(uaestorem)*, which differs from the other inscriptions only in its word order. Another inscription from Argos has most of the formulaic elements (but not the accusative of the honorand): *CIL* i², 746 = *I L L R P* 374 *Q. Caecilio C.f. Metelo imperatori Italici quei Argeis ne-go goliauliir*.¹³ An inscription from Sicily in the name of the *Italici* (*ILLRP* 320) also has an unmistakable affinity with our formulaic type: *Italicei L. Cornelium Sc[ip]i[one]m honoris caussa*. This may be as early as 193 BC ¹⁴ Here again is the same accusative structure, in a Greek-speaking area, but generations (it seems) before the examples from Delos. Also worth noting is ID 1699 = *ILLRP* 343 [*C. Marium C. f. legat]um Alexandreae Italicei quei fuere [uirtut]is benefique ergo. Ἀγασίας Μηνοφίλου Ἐφέσιος ἐποίηι*, which differs slightly from some of the other inscriptions in that it does not have the verb *negotiantur*, although the other elements are there, such as the accusative construction, the presence of *Italici*, the *ei* spellings in the same places, and a relative clause with locative of the place name. This inscription is of interest because the *Italici* in this case had been at Alexandria before erecting a statue at Delos.

The *negotiatores* who described themselves as *Italici* must have been some sort of loose collective presence in Greek-speaking areas in the last centuries of the Republic, with networks and contacts such that the formula, with its distinctive spelling and phraseology, could spread across a whole area and linger over a long period. Indeed, the last example mentioned provides evidence for members of the group styling themselves as *Italici* moving around the Greek-speaking **(p. 108)** world and using formulaic Latin in public inscriptions. The repeated use of the term *Italici* suggests that the *negotiatores* perceived themselves as having a corporate identity, and accordingly I now turn to this term.

2.2. Ῥωμαῖοι and Ἰταλικοί

The terms *Ῥωμαῖος* and *Ἰταλικός* have been much discussed, most notably by Solin (1982 a: 114, 116), who shows that *Ῥωμαῖος* indicated a Roman citizen in the juridical sense, or an inhabitant of the city of Rome, whether free or servile,¹⁵ while *Ἰταλικός* designated on the one hand Roman citizens, in which sense it was synonymous with *Ῥωμαῖος*, or on the other hand Italians in the modern sense.¹⁶ In addition, *Ῥωμαῖοι* was capable of being used by Greeks as a general designation of Italians whatever their place of origin (see below). These definitions are no doubt correct. Indeed, there is a bilingual inscription from Gytheum with some verbal and structural similarities to the inscriptions so far quoted, which revealingly has *Ῥωμαῖοι* in the Greek part but *ciues Romani* in the Latin: *ILGR 40 C Iulium Lacharis f. Euruclem ciues Romani in Laconica qui habitant, negotianlur benefici ergo. Γάι ον Ἰούλτον Γάιον Ιούλιον Λαχάρους υἱὸν Εὐρυκλέα Ῥωμαῖοι οἱ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῆς Λακωνικῆς πραγματευόμενοι τὸν αὐτῶν εὐεργέτην.*¹⁷

There are, however, two fundamental differences between the ways in which the two words *Ῥωμαῖος* and *Ἰταλικοί* are used at Delos, and these do not seem to have been brought out in discussions of the terms.

First, *Ἰταλικοί/Italici* is used exclusively in the plural, whereas *Ῥωμαῖος* is regularly used in the singular as well as the plural. There is not a single example at Delos of *Italici* in the singular. Its consistent use is in reference to the group of Italian *negotiatores*, and this fact supports the contention that the *Italici* had a sort of collective identity. *Ῥωμαῖος*, on the other hand, when used in the plural often behaves quite differently from *Italici*. It may be applied **(p.109)** to small groups of individuals who are separately named, as at *ID 1724*, quoted above (p. 105), or it may in effect be equivalent to *populus Romanus*, as for example at *ID 1859* *Γάιον Παβήριον Γαίουυιὸν ἀνθύπατον Ῥωμαίων* (cf. e.g. *ID 1842*). The Roman people were of course located at Rome and not in the Greek world. The *Italici*, by contrast, are very much perceived as operating at Delos and elsewhere in Greece.

Second, *Ῥωμαῖος*, or rather its Latin synonym *Romanus*, is never found in a Latin inscription at Delos, whereas *Italici* is regularly used in Latin and bilingual texts; the only exception in inscriptions of *negotiatores* of the type in question that I have found is the bilingual *ILGR* 40, quoted above, which contains the phrase *ciues Romani*. If an individual or a group designated ‘Roman’ makes a dedication at Delos, whether to a Greek or fellow Roman, or receives a dedication, whether from a Greek or Roman, the language used is always Greek. For example, in the first volume of *ID* containing inscriptions from the period after 166 BC, I have noted about 82 examples of *Ῥωμαῖος* in Greek inscriptions, in both the singular and the plural, but not a single case of *Romanus* in a Latin inscription. These figures no doubt at least in part reflect the integration of individual Romans into Delian society, but they also to some extent imply a Greek perception of the Italian *negotiatores*. To Athenians and others they were ‘Romans’, even if they did not come from Rome itself (see above, p. 108). In this respect the following inscription is revealing, though it is not from Delos: *CIL* i², 2259 = *CIL* iii. 7242 = *ILLRP* 961 Q. *Auile C. f. Lanuine salue. Κόιντε Ἀουίλλιε Γαίου υἱῆ Ῥωμαῖε χρηστῆ χαίρε.*¹⁸ The Latin version has the precise *Lanuine*, which is generalized to ‘Roman’ in the Greek.

Italici/Ἰταλικοί, on the other hand, occurs 4 times in inscriptions which, as they stand, are in Latin alone (*ID* 1620, 1695, 1696, 1742), 10 times in inscriptions which are in Greek alone (1683, 1688, 1689, 1690, 1691, 1717, 1718, 1722, 1757, 1758),¹⁹ and 7 times in bilingual inscriptions (1685, 1686, 1687, 1698, 1699, 1735²⁰, 1736).²¹ Of 28 cases of the two words *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί, 11 are in Latin and 17 in Greek. About 40 per cent of cases of *Italici*/Ἰταλικοί are in Latin (p. 110) texts, whereas 100 per cent of the references to ‘Romans’ are in Greek texts. Moreover, when *Romans* are associated with Greeks, Greek is always used, as at *ID* 1659 Ἀθηαίων καί Ῥωμαίων καί τῶν ἄλλήνων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Δῆλῳ ... Μάνιον Αἰμύλιον Μανίου υἱὸν Λέπεδον ἀντιταμίαν ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καί δικαιοσύνης καί τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας ..., but when *Italici* make a joint dedication with Greeks, Latin is always one of the languages. In the inscription just cited Romans are associated with Athenians, but when the *Italici* are linked with Athenians at *ID* 1620 = *ILLRP* 362 [L. *Licinium L. f.*] *Lucillum pro q(uaestore) p[ro]pulus A the[ni]ensis et Italicei et Graece[i que]i in insula negotiantur*, the language is Latin. There is a loose association here between the ‘Italians’ and the Latin language.²² This association might have been closer than it might seem on the figures given. It is possible that some of those purely Greek inscriptions at Delos to or by Ἰταλικοί were originally bilingual.

It is difficult to escape the conclusion that the Italians saw themselves as a group, and that one potential marker of their collective identity lay in the public use of the Latin language, if only alongside Greek. *Romans*, on the other hand, tended rather to be seen as a collection of individuals, except of course when the Roman state was at issue. It is possible that Romans as Romans felt no need to use Latin publicly in formal inscriptions because the identity of Rome was clear, whereas the *Italici* did sometimes feel that need, perhaps because their composition was complex and their identity there to be established.

However, the picture must be refined somewhat. Clearly the *Italici* did not use Latin willy-nilly in public inscriptions. I have suggested above that Romans/Italians seem to have been well integrated linguistically into Delian society. Even the inscriptions containing the word *Italici*/*Ἰταλικοί* are more often in Greek than in Latin. The circumstances behind an inscription, and particularly the nature of the honorand, must also be taken into account.²³

In the inscriptions listed above containing explicit reference to Italians the word *Italici*/*Ἰταλικοί* is variously in the nominative or the dative. If it is in the dative, the Italians were in some sense recipients of a dedication, and not necessarily in control of language (p.111) choice. If, on the other hand, it is in the nominative, then the dedication is explicitly by the *Italici* themselves, and it may be assumed that the dedicators made the choice of language. Accordingly I offer some comments on those inscriptions which have nominative forms. Of the four purely Latin inscriptions listed above, three have the nominative (ID 1620, 1695, 1696), whereas of the ten certain purely Greek inscriptions, only two have the nominative (1688, 1722). These figures on their own are suggestive, for on the face of it they seem to imply that the *Italici* when acting on their own behalf tended to prefer Latin; there is more to it than that, however, as we shall see. Finally, of the seven bilinguals, two have the nominative (1698, 1699).

There is a clear distinction between those inscriptions with the nominative which contain a Latin version, and those which do not. The only two which are in Greek alone reflect the activities of Italians as *insiders*, as it were, in Delian society. At ID 1688 the *Ἰταλικοί* make a dedication in the Agora of the Italians to a local *negotiator*, C Ofellius Ferus.²⁴ And at 1722 the dedication is to the local Greek banker, Philostratus. By contrast, in every single inscription by the Italians containing a Latin version the dedication is to a Roman official who was an *outsider* to Delos. It is also the case that the four dedications in Latin by *Italici* (nom.) found in places other than Delos (quoted above) all honour Roman officials. It may be suggested, then, that within Delian society itself the *Italici* were usually happy to be seen as Greek-speaking, but that when their dealings were with outside Roman officialdom, they were careful to project a Latin-speaking, or at least bilingual, identity.

I note in passing that our use of *Italici* was not confined to inscriptions in the Republican period. There are one or two examples of *Italici* in Sallust's *Jugurtha* which match closely the use of the term at Delos. At 26. 1 the word is used in the plural not of Italians in any vague general sense, but specifically of Italian *negotiatores* who act together in defending Cirta in Numidia against Jugurtha: *ea postquam Cirtae audita sunt, Italici, quorum uirtute moenia defensabantur; confisi deditioe facta propter magnitudinem populi Romani inuiolatos sese fore ...; Iugurtha ... Numidas atque negotiatores promiscue ... interfecit*. The passage has the additional interest that it displays the unity of the group, as Gabba (1994: 108) has noted.

(p.112) There is another relevant passage at *Jug.* 47. 1, where Sallust uses instead a circumlocution, *Italici generis multi mortales*, but again the reference is to *negotiatores*: *erat haud longe ab eo itinere quo Metellus pergebat oppidum Numidarum nomine Vaga, forum rerum uenialium totius regni maxime celebratum, ubi et incolarum et mercari consueverant Italici generis multi mortales*.

The term *Italici* was certainly to develop a powerful symbolism, as is shown by the fact that the Italian rebels at the time of the Social War renamed their capital, Corfinium, *Italica*,²⁵ though that may not be relevant to our cases. That the group at Delos (and other groups elsewhere in Greece) used the term *Italici* of themselves may rather be related to the fact that, while they must have embraced many Romans, there was also a substantial element of non-Romans. A comprehensive designation was required.

One may speculate about the function of the use of Latin in public by the group of the *Italici*. While there is every reason to believe, as we have seen, that individually the Romans and Italians were thoroughly immersed in the Greek-speaking life of the island, and that even the collective group the *Ἰταλικοί* used Greek in purely Delian affairs (see *ID* 1688 and 1722, discussed above), the choice of Latin on certain special occasions might serve to emphasize their separateness as a group from run-of-the-mill Greeks. It has been stressed by Gabba (1994: 108) that at this period protection was afforded by the Roman government indifferently to Roman citizens, Latins, and Italians, and indeed the reliance of the *Italici* on the protection of the *magnitudo populi Romani* is made very clear at Sall. *Jug.* 26. 1, quoted above. Perhaps the Italians in potentially hostile environments sought to use linguistic strategies to underline not merely their separateness, but also their connection with the Roman state. Indeed, several of the Latin inscriptions in the name of the *Italici* actually come from the period when Italians and their eastern trade were under threat and when they were reliant on Roman protection.²⁶ Delos was sacked in 88 by a general of Mithridates, and again in 69 by pirates. For Latin (or bilingual) inscriptions (mainly from Delos) by *Italici* honouring Roman officials during this period, see e.g. *CIL* iii. 7265=*ILLRP* 376 (the inscription **(p.113)** in honour of Q. Marcius Rex), *ID* 1698=*ILLRP* 369, *ID* 1620=*ILLRP* 362, *ID* 1695=*ILLRP* 359, 1696. The willingness of Greeks to be included as dedicators in such Latin texts no doubt reflects their pragmatism and pro-Roman feelings at this period.²⁷

It is also relevant, if only as part of the general background, that for some time now Italian elites—and the Italians at Delos were certainly to some extent members of important local Italian families—had been assimilating themselves to Roman norms,²⁸ and in the matter of language that meant the abandonment of local languages and the adoption of Latin. One thinks of the well-known story in Livy (40. 42, 13) that in 180 BC the people of Cumae asked the senate to be allowed to use Latin in certain public affairs. Whatever else one is to make of this story, it certainly suggests, first, that the local upper classes were according Latin a high prestige, and second, that they wanted to be *seen* by Rome to be using the Latin language, because there was no legal requirement whatsoever that they should ask permission of the Roman senate to do so, as Brunt (1988: 104 n. 25) stresses. Similarly, at Delos and elsewhere in Greece the *Italici* are seen by prominent Romans to be holding on to Latin as a feature of their public identity.

It should be stressed that it is by no means only in inscriptions at Delos containing the word *Italici* that Latin is used. One notable context in which Latin regularly turns up is in the formal inscriptions of the *collegia* which the *negotiatores* had set up on the island on the model of the *collegia* found elsewhere, e.g. Capua.²⁹ The *collegia* in the conventional manner bore the names of gods: we have, for example, inscriptions in the name of the groups called Hermaistai, Poseidoniastai, and Apolloniastai. These inscriptions sometimes, but not always, end with a dedication to the *Italici*, as at ID 1736: *L. L. Orbieis L. l. magdstreis) laconicum Italiceis*, *Λε ύκι ος Όρβιος Λ ε υκίου Λικίνος καὶ Λε ύκι ος Όρβιος Λ ε υκίου Δίφ ιλος Ερμαισταὶ γενόμενοι υ 'Ιταλικοῖς*. There are about 30 inscriptions **(p.114)** attributed to the Hermaistai,³⁰ the Poseidoniastai,³¹ and the Apol-loniastai (1730), either as groups acting separately or of all three acting collectively³² and of these 16 or 17 are either bilingual³³ or in Latin,³⁴ but the remaining Greek inscriptions are almost without exception very fragmentary, and it is likely that in at least some cases the original inscriptions would have been bilingual. There is a remarkably high incidence of Latin in the inscriptions of the *collegia*, which suggests that in their most formal mode of behaviour—and *collegia* represent a form of institutionalized collective activity—the Italians felt some pressure to express a Latin-speaking (or at least bilingual) identity.

There was also a fourth college, the inscriptions of which add a *social* dimension to the language choice of the *negotiators*. This group is that of the Competalistai.³⁵ Their name has a Latin base (*compitum*, *compitalis*), with the same Greek suffix as the other names, and they are likely to have been an organization with Italian roots. There are about 11 dedications by this group, which are long and well preserved, not a single one of which uses Latin either on its own or alongside Greek. Moreover, unlike the other *collegia*, the Competalistai never included the *Italici* in their dedications, and while the other three groups sometimes acted jointly in setting up inscriptions, the Competalistai are never included in any joint inscription. This, then, was a group which adopted a Greek persona in public documents. The reason for this becomes clear from the composition of the Competalistai. Whereas the other three *collegia* were composed largely of freemen or freedmen, the Competalistai were predominantly slaves or freedmen,³⁶ with Greek names very prominent in the lists. These were the servile entourage of the *Ital-ici*, drawn from the slave population of Rome and Italy or acquired directly from the east. To be a member of the *Italici* was to stand on a higher social plane than the Italians and Greeks who made up the servile community of the Italians trading at Delos, and one marker **(p.115)** of this social superiority seems to have been the public use of Latin in formal documents presenting a collective identity. On this view, the presence of Latin in some such texts might be seen to have a double function. On the one hand it established the Italian identity of the *collegia* of *negolialores* in a Greek world, and on the other it was a marker of the distinction between the socially superior and the servile members of the Italian group, at least as they presented themselves in public: language use in private is another matter.

Dedications made in Greek by the *Italici* to local traders thus reflect the integration of the group on the island. But they remained conscious of their Italian roots, and of the utility of keeping a Latin-speaking identity. It was above all in various formal inscriptions with an Italian or Roman connection that Latin tended to be retained: namely, the inscriptions of the distinctively Italian-style *collegia*, and the dedications to Roman officials.

2.3. Accusative of the honorand

The third feature of the Marcius Rex inscription mentioned above was the accusative of the honorand. This is the standard Greek construction in honorific inscriptions, with a verb of honouring or the like understood, but it is not normal in Latin, where the most usual construction is the dative of the honorand, with a completely different verb understood, such as *fecit* or *posuit*. The different conventions of the two languages can be seen in the bilingual inscription *CIL* iii. 8: *Iuliae Augustae Cyrenenses*, ... 'Ιουλαίῃ Σ εβαστὰν Κυρηναῖοι.³⁷ The distribution of the accusative construction in Latin texts is of some interest. It can be stated categorically that it occurs with any frequency only in inscriptions which there is reason to believe were influenced by the Greek pattern. The most obvious group comprises those which are explicitly bilingual, and in which the Greek syntactic pattern has been used in the Latin as well as the Greek.³⁸ This is the case in the Marcius Rex inscription, and also in various bilingual texts at Delos, such as *ID* 1698 = *ILLRP* 369 and *ID* 2009 = *ILLRP* 363. It spread from honorific to funerary inscriptions, and again turns up in Latin in bilingual texts of this genre, as at Speidel (1994) no. 688a.³⁹ A second group comprises **(p. 116)** texts in Latin only either found in Greek-speaking areas or showing some other association with Greek speakers. Note, for example, the dedication by a centurion on an Alexandrian statue base honouring a praetorian prefect, Domitius Honoratus (*CIL* iii, 12052; cf. iii, 14127):⁴⁰ [*L(ucinae) Domitium Honoratum, prae(fectum) praetor (to) vac. em(inentissimum) u(irim) vac. Pacilius Tychianus (cen-turio) leg(ionis) II Tr(aianae) F(ortis) [G(ermanicae) Seuer(ianae)]*]. The centurion seems to have chosen the Greek structure in line with the Greek convention **in** a Greek city.

I have mentioned that bilingual dedications at Delos have the accusative construction. More interestingly, the same is true also of purely Latin dedications, such as *ID* 1699 = *ILLRP* 343 (Latin, but with the artist's signature in Greek),⁴¹ *ID* 1620 = *ILLRP* 362, and *ID* 1695 = *ILLRP* 359; from places other than Delos, note too *ILLRP* 370 (Aegium) and *ILLRP* 320 (Sicily); all of these inscriptions have been quoted above. It should be noted that in each of these texts the *Italici* appear among the dedicators. There is only one purely Latin inscription at Delos which has the dative (*ID* 1712 = *ILLRP* 344 *C. Iulio C. f. Caesar[i] pro co(n)s(ule) olearii*), and it is of some interest that this is not in the name of the *Italici*, but of the oil-sellers. All honorific inscriptions connected with the *Italici*, whether they are bilingual or monolingual in Latin, have the accusative. Since the same is true of other inscriptions by *Italici* from Greek regions other than Delos, it would seem reasonable to say that there is a convention deliberately adopted by the *Italici* at work here. I stress that, though the Italians in these dedications are often associated with Greeks, that is not always the case, as can be seen from the Marcius Rex inscription and that from Sicily (*ILLRP* 320), as well as *ID* 1699 = *ILLRP* 343. The participation of *Graeci* was not, therefore, the determining factor.

The use of the accusative can at one level be seen as a form of accommodation to Greek practice, but it is doubtful whether it would have been perceived by Greeks as such, because a Greek would not necessarily have remarked the abnormality of the usage. One assumes, however, that it would have appeared somewhat abnormal to a Latin speaker, and moreover it is precisely in inscriptions **(p.117)** which honour prominent Romans that it is found. Would the honorand have been struck by the alienness of the construction? I am tempted to speculate that the usage was deliberately adopted by the *Italici* in their public inscriptions as a mark of their complex identity, and it is particularly interesting that it is distributed over the long period 193–68 BC across Greek areas in inscriptions containing the word *Italici*. On this view the frequent use of Latin in formal public inscriptions served to define the *Italici* in the eyes of Greeks, including slaves, whereas the use of an alien construction in their Latin might have defined them in the eyes of Latin-speaking outsiders to the region.

2.4. Gemination of vowels

The fourth feature of the Marcius Rex inscription to which I referred was the spelling of *Marcius* with gemination of the vowel. It has now become something of a commonplace that the Latin of the Delos inscriptions is the Latin not of the city of Rome, but of Campania,⁴² and this notion is supposed to accord with the view that many of the *negotiatores* were Campanians. It must be noted, however, that Hatzfeld's belief that the *negotiatores* were basically southern Italians has now been undermined by Solin (1982a), to whom Vine (1993: 163) does not refer.

It has been argued by Lazzeroni (1956) that Latin, as distinct from Oscan, inscriptions which have gemination are predominantly found in Oscan areas of Italy. This view has now been supported by Vine from newer attestations of gemination not appearing in *CIL* i².⁴³ Moreover, Vine has been able to demonstrate close similarities between the nature of gemination in Oscan texts and that in Latin inscriptions. For example, *aa* is the most common type in both Oscan and Latin, and gemination is predominantly found in initial syllables in both languages,⁴⁴ There are also correspondences of detail between the Oscan material and the Latin. The spelling *Maarcus*, for example, found in the Marcius Rex inscription, might be compared with Osc. *Maak*-,⁴⁵ and the occasional Latin form *aara* has an exact correspondent in Osc. *aas*-.⁴⁶

It is possible, then, that vocalic gemination found its way into **(p.118)** Latin first of all in Oscan areas. But that does not mean that it would be justifiable to argue that such spellings were deliberately adopted by the *negotiatores* as part of an attempt to construct for themselves a regional Italian identity. In the Delian *Latin* inscriptions there is only one such form, (*aaram* at ID 1750=ILLRP 751), which may indeed reflect the non-urban origin of the composer. But a single example would not provide grounds for assigning an ideological significance to the spelling of the *negotiatores*. Gemination is for the most part found at Delos in *Greek* inscriptions, overwhelmingly in the *praenomen* *Μάαρκος*, which is of course always abbreviated in Latin.⁴⁷ There is also a case of *Μάάρκος* (ID 1731), which contrasts with the *non-geminated* form of the same name in the Latin inscription ID 1692. And *Marcellus* is spelt *without* gemination in both the Latin and Greek versions of ID 1685. Granted the likely Oscan origin of such gemination, the fact is that it spread beyond Oscan-influenced Latin⁴⁸ (and Greek). In the Roman names *Mar-cus*, *Marcius*, and *Marcellus* gemination became commonplace for some reason in Greek inscriptions in the second century BC.⁴⁹ For example, in the Greek versions of *senalus consulta* effected by native speakers of Latin and circulated in the Greek world, which are conveniently collected by Sherk (1969), gemination is widespread in these names,⁵⁰ and there is no reason to think that the documents were drafted anywhere but in Rome. In Greek documents gemination begins to fade out in the first century BC, and is scarcely found after about 50 BC.⁵¹ For our purposes, then, I attach no significance to the spelling, given its almost complete restriction at Delos to a single name and to *Greek* inscriptions, and given the wide distribution of *aa* in Roman names in Greek inscriptions of this period. I would go further and say that the other alleged regional features of the Latin inscriptions of Delos should be reconsidered. For example, the *-(e)is* masculine nominative plural form, as found e.g. in *Orbeis* = *Orbit* at ID 1736, quoted above (p. 113), and in *hisce* at ID 2440=ILLRP 289 ... *hisce signum Volcani merito statuerunt*, has **(p.119)** now been abundantly documented by Bakkum (1994) from geographically diverse sources, including literary texts, and its alleged regional character⁵² needs to be re-examined.⁵³

I conclude that the *Italici*, at least those who were from prominent families as distinct from slaves, associated themselves with Rome and Romans in the maintenance of Latin, much as the Cumaeans in 180 BC adopted a formal, Latin-speaking identity in the period of Italian aspirations before the Social War. But they also resorted to linguistic strategies, such as the use of bilingual texts and of Greek-inspired syntax, to construct a separateness from Roman outsiders, and a partial assimilation to Greek ways.

3. Expressions of Filiation: Accommodation, Code-Switching, and Interference

I move on now to a completely different topic. An interesting case study in the interaction between Greek and Latin at Delos may be based on a study of expressions of filiation.⁵⁴ I begin by classifying various usages.

First, in early bilingual inscriptions, in which the Latin version distinguishes in the usual way between filiation (genitive + *f(ilius)*) and the relationship freedman to patron (genitive + *l(ibertus)*), the Greek has name+genitive to express both relationships. Thus, in ID 1733=ILLRP 749 the Latin has a distinction between *f* and *l*., where the Greek has a genitive for both relationships: *M. Pactumeius M.f., M. Tuscenius L. f. Nobilior, D. Foluius D. f., D. Gessius D. l.* ... *Μάαρκος Πακτομήιος ΜαάρΚον, ΜάαρΚος Τοσκήνιος Λευκίου Νοβε(ιλίωρ), Δέκμος Φόλουιος Δέκμος Γέσσιος Δέ-κμου* ... This inscription is dated to about 125 BC.

This Greek system, consisting of the plain genitive with two different functions, was obviously not ideal in inscriptions naming a variety of freedmen on the one hand, and freemen with filiation on the other. In response to this ambiguity we find some inscriptions, bilingual or in Greek only, in which in the Greek υἱός is used with the **(p.120)** genitive to express filiation, whereas the plain genitive is retained as a correspondent to the Latin genitive with *libertus*. This can be seen in ID 1754=ILLRP 760, dated to the end of the second century BC, where υἱός is used throughout, but there are one or two cases of the genitive where the Latin has *libertus*: *C. Heius T.f. Libo, ... Q. Saufeijs P.f. Treb(ianus), D). Ampius Q. l. Γάιος Ὡιος Τίτου υἱός Λίβων, Κόιντος Σαυφήιος Ποπλίου υἱός Τρεβιανός ... Δέκμος Ἄμπιος Κοίντου*. This economical new system in Greek owes its origin in part to the influence of Latin, whether because bilingual Latin speakers introduced the use of υἱός to their Greek, or because Greeks adopted the practice from Latin. The two possibilities are not mutually exclusive. It is interesting to observe in this case the influence of a Latin convention on Greek in the bilingual community of Delos, whereas by contrast in the matter of the accusative of the honorand the influence was in the reverse direction.

I have used the rather vague term 'influence' in this connection, but it is less than satisfactory and does not get us very far with what was happening, I would now like to consider further the use of υἱός in the inscriptions and the wider implications of that use. What particularly stands out in Greek inscriptions set up (at least partly) by Greeks, as distinct from those set up exclusively by Italians, is that filiation is constantly expressed by genitive + υἱός when the honorand is a Roman, but by the plain genitive when the honorand is a Greek. The distinction can be seen clearly in the inscriptions of the combined group of Athenians, Romans, and other Greeks, as in the following two:

ID 1659 Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων οἱ κατοικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ..., Μάνιον Α[ἰ]μύλιον Μανίου υἱὸν Λέ πεδον ἀντιταμίαν ἀρετῇ ὧς ἐνεκεν καὶ δικαιοσ ὑνῆς

ID 1661 Ἀσκληπιάδην Ἀντιόχου Ἀ[θη] ναίου οἱ κατοικοῦντ εν ἐν Δήλῳ Ἀθη ναίων καὶ Ῥωμαίων Καὶ τῶν ἄλλήων Ἑλλήνων...

It will be seen that there is a difference between the two texts in the form of the filiations, with υἱὸς used only for the Roman.

Or again, take the bilingual inscription ID 2009=ILLRP 363: [C. Fabiu]m C.f. Q. n. Hadrianum [Her]molucus et Apollonius [Apo]lloni f. Me[li]lei benefici ergo, Apollini. Γάιον Φάβι[ον] Γαίου υἱὸν Ἀδριανὸν Ἑρμόλυ[κ]ος καὶ Ἀπολλώνιος οἱ Ἀπολλωνίου Μήλιοι, τὸν ἑαυτῷ [ν] εὐ-ερ[γ] ἔτην, ὑπὸ Ἀπόλλωνι. Here two Greeks (Melians) write a bilingual (p.121) inscription in honour of one C. Fabius Hadrianus (first century BC). In the Greek version Roman practice is followed in the filiation of the Roman, but Greek practice in that of the Melians. It is important to note that the dedicators are Greeks, not Romans. It would be arguably less surprising if a native speaker of Latin, when writing a formal Latin name in Greek, should have translated *filius* into Greek. That Greeks, such as these Melians, should have used the Roman style in a Greek inscription in a Greek-speaking region is rather different, and reveals not only a knowledge of the Latin practice but also a readiness to accommodate their Greek usage to it.

Linguistic accommodation among bilinguals takes various forms.⁵⁵ At its most obvious and extreme, it may involve the use by the speaker of the addressee's primary language as a form of deference. An alternative and more subtle strategy is seen in sporadic code-switching by the speaker into the addressee's primary language. The accommodation in our case is different again. A syntactic pattern from the honorand's (one might say, addressee's) primary language is introduced into the *speaker's* or *writer's* language in deference to the honorand. It is clearly useful in a case such as this to draw a distinction between *accommodation* and *interference*. The accommodation here is a deliberate strategy, because it is only the Roman's filiation, and not that of the Greeks, which is expressed in the Roman way. There are, on the other hand, forms of interference between two languages which are unconscious, as for example when an imperfect speaker of a second language inadvertently transfers a feature of syntax or an item of morphology or, at the level of writing, a form of spelling from his first language into his second. Thus, for example, in the transliterated Latin legal document SB iii/1. 6304 (a receipt written by one Aeschines Flavianus of Miletus) the expression ἐξ ἐντερροατιωνῶ (*ex interrogatione*) shows a substitution of the Greek prefix ἐν- for the correct Latin *in*-. This is a case of morphological interference, and it was arguably unconscious.

It is significant that the accommodation under discussion here (in *ID* 2009) manifests itself in the area of cross-language naming. There is in my opinion an analogy between the practice of using υῖός in a Greek text in naming a Roman, and that of using Latin inflections in Latin names in a *Greek* text, or conversely Greek inflections in Greek names in a *Latin* text. Consider again the legal text *SB* (p.122) iii/i. 6304 just referred to. Line 3 of the ii-line document runs as follows: Αἰσχίνης Αἰσχίνου Φλαουιανὸς Μιλήσιος σ κριψι... Though the text as a whole is written in (transliterated) Latin, in this line the Greek Aeschines inflects his name as Greek not only in the nominative, but also in the genitive of the filiation. There has been a switch of languages when the name is written. Code-switching (that is, a change of languages within an utterance) inspired by the language of origin of a name, particularly if allied with the perceived ethnic identity of the bearer of the name, is very common in, for example, Latin inscriptions from Greek communities.⁵⁶ The name is so much a part of the identity of a person that it may carry some of its formal grammatical features from its language of origin into another language. Consider again the Sicilian *defixio* recently republished by Curbera (1997). The text is in Greek, but the first person is named in a form that is not entirely Greek: 11. 1-2 Γάιος Ουείβιος υ[ῖος] Λούκι Ουείβι ... The names are Latin in origin, and it is obvious that in the filiation they have been inflected not in Greek, the language of the text as a whole, but in Latin.⁵⁷ It is of additional interest that the Latinate υῖός is also present (though not used precisely as it would have been in classical Latin), and that reinforces the analogy between the use of υῖός in such environments, and the widespread practice of inflecting names according to their language of origin rather than the language in which they are being used. Curbera argues that the persons cursed in the *defixio* were Africans, who had come to Sicily for some reason. If so, they may have been perceived as Latin-speaking, and that might have provided an impulse for the retention of some Latin forms when they were named.

In the two cases just cited, the receipt of Aeschines and the Sicilian *defixio*, there has been a switch of languages, i.e. code-switching, in the naming of the persons perceived as having a different primary language from that of the text in which the name is embedded. At Delos, on the other hand, there has been no change (p.123) of language when υῖός is used to name a Roman in a Greek text. Rather, the usage can be seen as a type of structural borrowing or loan translation determined by the presence of *filius* in such contexts in Latin. But whether loan translation or code-switching, the two processes have much the same motivations. Either a person holds on to features of his name which are proper to his primary language, or another person accommodates the form of the name to the primary language of the referent.

I return to Delos. Though the Latin pattern of filiation just described intrudes frequently into Greek inscriptions at Delos, practice was not uniform, and both a *chronological* and a *sociolinguistic* dimension may be discerned in the variations. I will say something in this context particularly about inscriptions by Romans or Italians rather than Greeks. As far as the *chronology* of the usage is concerned, in the early inscriptions, i.e. those of about 150 BC give or take a couple of decades, *υἰός* is usually absent. The following inscription, for example, is dated to 179 BC: ID 442 B 147 *στέφανον χρυσοῦν ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα “Μίνατος Μινάτου Τήιος Ῥωμαῖος ἐκ Κῦμης ἀνέθηκεν”*. It would seem that in the early period Italians were content to follow the conventions of the separate languages,⁵⁸

Once the use of *υἰός* had come into vogue, it was open to Romans to vary their usage for effect, and this possibility I refer to as the ‘*sociolinguistic* dimension’. I cite a couple of cases. On the one hand, in the bilingual inscription ID 1698 =ILLRP 369 (A. Terentium [.] A. [.] f. Varro[nem legatutn] Italicei et Graecei quei [.] Delei negoti[antur]. [A] ὕλον Τερέντιον Αὔλου υἱὸν Οὐ[άρρων]α πρεσβυ-τ ἤν [P] ρωμαίων Ἰταλικοὶ καὶ Ἑλληγνες οἱ κατ [οικοῦντες ἐν Δήλῳ]; see above, p. 107) the referent A. Terentius Varro (the date is c.82 BC) has the patronymic Αὔλου υἱὸν, whereas at ID 1724 [Φιλ] όστρατον [Φ] ιλοστρά [του] Νεαπολίτην [τ] ὃν πρότερον[χ] ρηματί [ζ] ον [τα Α] σ [κα]-λωνίτην, τραπεζίτε[ύοντα] ἐν Δήλῳ, [Π]λόπι λιος καὶ Γάιος καὶ Γναί ος Ἐγνά[τι] οι Κοίντου Ῥωμαῖοι τὸν ἑαυτ[ῶν] εὐεργέτην Απόλλωνι; see above, p. 105) three Romans setting up an inscription to the banker Philostratus employ Κοίντου alone as their filiation. If the presence of *υἰός* in the naming of a Roman (Varro) can be seen as a concession to an alien (i.e. Roman) practice which subtly portrays the referent as a Roman and something of an outsider, the occasional omission of *υἰός* by Romans in naming themselves perhaps suggests that on a particular occasion they were presenting themselves as insiders. **(p.124)** It is easy to find examples on the one hand of Greeks according a Roman a filiation containing *υἰός*, in deference to the practice of his own language (see e.g. ID 2009=ILLRP 363, quoted above, p. 120), and Romans on the other hand depriving themselves of *υἰός*, in deference to the practice of their addressees’ language (e.g. ID 1724). On this view accommodation was complex and many-sided at De-los, and it was both Greeks and Romans who were accommodating, and for different motives. The conventional view of Roman linguistic arrogance, which is sometimes argued from Valerius Maximus 2. 2. 2 (see above, p. 106), simply is not applicable to the situation at Delos.

It might be argued that the omission of υἱός in reference to Romans (as in *ID* 1724) could be merely the error of a Greek stonecutter unfamiliar with the Latin system. That is a possibility that cannot be ruled out in every single case, but I would draw attention to one sphere in which the word is regularly, as distinct from occasionally, left out. In private dedications to local divinities, Syrian, oriental, and Greek, which are common at Delos, Romans regularly express their filiation without υἱός, as do Greeks.⁵⁹ One possible reason for this is that the act of making a dedication to a local god defined the dedicator as participating in the local culture, and he might accordingly be keen to follow the local convention. By contrast, in those inscriptions in which a Roman is referred to, or refers to himself, in civilian, as distinct from religious, contexts, the filiation is more likely to be expressed in the Latin style. The regularity of the practice in the religious inscriptions tells against haphazard copying errors.

I mention finally a rather different type of filiation from those which have been seen so far. *ID* 2440 = *ILLRP* 289 is an inscription on a statue base by a group largely of freedmen, who choose Latin as the language of the text: *L. Puinidius L. l. v., M. Castricius Q. l., Cn. Otacilius Q. l. v., A. Claudius Sex, l., Cn. Mescinius M. l., Philologus Aprodisiu, Dositheus, A. Granius Q. l., Archibius Aprodisiu, (C. Nerius M. l. hisce signum Volcani merito statuerunt*. It will be noted that in two cases there are filiations which not only lack *filius* but are inflected as Greek, with the *-u* spelling representing the Greek genitive. Both the syntax and the morphology of the filiations are thus Greek: there has been a blatant switch of languages. This again (**p.125**) is the phenomenon of code-switching. The factors which motivate code-switching are still very much under discussion, and this is not the place to go into much detail, but it may be worthwhile to make a few observations on this particular case. I offer four comments.

First, there is an exact parallel in the Sicilian *defixio*, though of the reverse type. There in a *Greek* text the filiation has *Latin* morphology and Latinate syntax. Second, the names which participate in the switch into Greek in the Delian text are themselves Greek. It is, as I said, extremely common for names to inspire a switch of languages. This we saw, for example, in the receipt of Aeschines, where again the filiation bears a Greek inflection. Third, the inscription could be said **to** be somewhat low in the social scale, and it may well be that such code-switching is less likely to occur in highly formal inscriptions by members of the elite. The freeborn Romans who appear in Greek inscriptions at Delos may be given Latin-style filiations, but there are no cases as far as I am aware of inflectional code-switching. Finally, it is of note that, whereas the genitives in the inscription from Delos are inflected as Greek, the Greek names in the nominative are given the Latin inflection. There is an exact parallel, with reversal of the languages, in the *defixio* from Sicily. One reason for this difference of treatment may have been that the case form of the filiation was invariable: it is by definition always in the genitive, and hence it may have tended to become more or less fossilized. The actual name of a person might of course be used in any grammatical case, and its very variability made it more readily integrated into another inflectional system.

4. Conclusions

I offer a few conclusions. The inscriptions from Delos present us with public rather than private language use, and they therefore have nothing to tell us about informal bilingualism in action. On the other hand the advantage of a contrived public text to the would-be analyst of ancient bilingualism is that it is bound to be based on a good deal of thought, and its composer is certain to have considered the impression that it would create. Only slaves and freedmen (the *Competalistai*) show signs of indifference to the maintenance of Latin as a formal public language. It is interesting that in the mid- **to** second half of the second century BC those religious-trade (**p.126**) associations which no doubt gave the freeborn Italian *negotiatores* their most formal, organized identity on the island had a marked habit of setting up bilingual dedications not only in the name of the *collegia* themselves, but also sometimes indirectly in the name of the *Italici*. It would seem, that as they organized themselves formally in the early period they were interested in portraying a double identity. One of the main functions of a bilingual inscription was not so much to convey information to the maximum number of readers, but to project some sort of identity. The Palmyrene who used Palmyrene Aramaic alongside Latin at South Shields (*RIB* 1065) could scarcely have been doing so for the sake of a potential readership, as no Palmyrene community is known there. The very alienness of the Aramaic writing helps to reinforce the Palmyrene's identity, which he makes clear in the Latin text.⁶⁰

We have seen Greek morphology in a Latin text (*Aprodisiu*), a Greek syntactic structure of formal epigraphy transferred into Latin (the accusative of the honorand), and a Latin pattern of filiation adopted in Greek, not only by Romans but also by Greeks. The influence was in both directions, and that can presumably be taken as a sign of well-entrenched bilingualism uncluttered by any serious form of linguistic nationalism.

The term 'influence' is inadequate, and I have attempted to use more precise descriptions of the phenomena concerned. Whereas a loan-word may be described as a borrowing which is integrated phonetically, morphologically, or semantically (or in all three ways) into the recipient language, code-switching is an *ad hoc* change of languages within an utterance or piece of writing. One of the most persistent types in ancient texts is determined by the language of origin of a name, or the ethnic identity of its bearer, but on the whole at Delos, except in the inscription by some freedmen, language differentiation is carefully maintained. I have also made use of the term 'accommodation', which may be implicated in an act of code-switching: that is, one speaker switches from time to time into another's language as an act of solidarity or politeness. There are inscriptions in which the adoption by a Greek of the Latin pattern of filiation may be seen as a form of accommodation. I would finally draw attention to the conscious imitation in one language of a syntactic structure of another, a **(p. 127)** feature well known to classicists in the deliberate imitation of Greek syntax in Latin poetry, I have suggested that the use of the accusative of the honorand may be seen as a sort of trademark of the *Italici*.

Notes:

(1) On bilingualism at Delos I would draw particular attention to Touloumakos (1995) 114–21 and Siebert (1999), who studies in detail the Greek and Latin inscriptions in the Agora of the Italians.

(2) See (Gruen (1954) 311; Raub (1993) 2–5,

(3) The classic studies are those of Hatzfeld (1912; 1919); see also Wilson (1966) and particularly Solin (1982 *a*).

(4) See Mancinetti Santamaria (1982).

(5) See Mancinetti Santamaria (1982) 84; Gabba (1994) 108.

(6) See also Wilson (1966) 106.

(7) See Solin (1982 *a*) 112–13. 117.

(8) See also Touloumakos 1995 119–20, 125; Siebert (1999) 96, 97, citing e.g. *ID* 1842 and observing (96): 'Des actes de consécration entre Romains s'expriment plus d'une fois par la seule langue grecque.'

- (9) See Dubuisson (1982*c*); Gruen (1992) ch. 6 e.g. 245–6).
- (10) See Plut. *Cato* 12. 4–5, and on the interpretation of the passage Dubuisson (1982*c*) 200; Gruen (1992) 68–9; and (less satisfactorily) Kaimio (1979) 98–9.
- (11) See the remarks of Siebert (1999) 101.
- (12) See Degrassi on *ILLRP* 376; Wilson (1966) 149.
- (13) On these inscriptions from Argos see Touloumakos (1995) 122–3.
- (14) See Brunt (1988) 117.
- (15) See Solin (1982 *a*) 114: ‘Tutti i casi apparentemente irregolari, riportati dallo Hatzfeld, possono essere spiegati con le due accezioni che, a mio vedere, il termine *Ρωμαῖος* ha: cittadino romano o abitante della città di Roma, compresi anche gli schiavi romani,’
- (16) See Solin (1982*a*) 116: ‘Per questo, credo, il termine *Italici* *Ιταλικοί* designava nell’ Oriente sia cittadini romani, ed era per questo rispetto alquanto equivalente a ‘*Ρωμαῖοι*, sia Italici nel senso moderno.’ See further Poccetti (1984) 647; Rochette (1997) 36–8.
- (17) See Sasel Kos (1979).
- (18) See also Solin (1982 *a*) 114.
- (19) Also perhaps 1727 (conjectural).
- (20) See *ILLRP* 750 (d). *ID* does not accept the *word* here.
- (21) I include 1699 among the bilingual, as distinct from monolingual Latin, inscriptions with some hesitation. See Degrassi at *ILLR P* 343.
- (22) It is also worth noting that the four inscriptions (quoted above, p. 107) set up in the name of *Italici* from areas of the Greek world other than Delos are all in Latin or have a Latin version.
- (23) This is a complicated issue with which I shall deal at greater length elsewhere.
- (24) On this family of *negotiatores* see e.g. Siebert (1999) 97
- (25) See Strabo 5. 4. 2; Vell. Pat. 2. 16. 4; note Gabba (1994) 118: ‘a name rich in symbolism’.
- (26) See also the remarks of Touloumakos (1995) 120–1, 125.
- (27) See the general remarks by Touloumakos (1995) 124.

(28) See e.g. Gee e.g. (1994) 109.

(29) On the *collegia* see Flambard (1982) 71; also Degrassi on *ILLRP* 747-62, Hatzfeld (1919) 267; (1912) 184-5; for Capua, see *C1L* x. 3772-91; among the *magistri* (of *collegia*) at Capua can be identified two *Italici* who were in comparable groups at Delos (see Flambard 1977:138). On the Capuan inscriptions in relation to those of Delos see Heurgon (1939) 8-9.

(30) *ID* 1731-50; of these 1731-7 are certainly by the Hermaistai, 1738-49; are probably so, and 1750 is conjectured to be.

(31) 1751 and 1752.

(32) For the collective dedications see 1753-8; also probably 1759.

(33) 1731-3, 1735-6, 1737 (but only partially bilingual), 1738-9, 1750-1, 1753-4, and possibly 1759.

(34) 1742-3, 1752, 1756.

(35) For the inscriptions of the Competialistai see *ID* 1760-70. The bilingual 1771 was not necessarily set up by them. On the Competaliastai see in particular Flambard (1982) 68-72; also (1977) 133-40, esp. 136,

(36) See Wilson (1966) 117; Flambard (1977) 136; (1982) 68; Rauh (1993) 110.

(37) Comparable examples can be found in Touloumakos's collection of bilingual inscriptions, e.g. (1995) 108-9.

(38) A number of such cases can be readily found in Touloumakos (1995), e.g. 106.

(39) See further Kajanto (1963) 19; Adams (1998).

(40) For a revised text see Kayser (1994) no. 19 (pp. 69 -73).

(41) Siebert (1999) 100 notes that all artists' signatures at Delos are in Greek, observing that 'l'art éta it aux yeux des familiers de l'agora des Italiens one affaire de Grecs'.

(42) See Vine (1993) 163.

(43) See Vine (1993) 272.

(44) Vine's detailed discussion, of the various issues occupies the whole of chapter 11.

(45) See Vine (1993) 277.

(46) See Vine (1993) 278.

(47) There are numerous examples of the Greek form of the name with gemination in *ID* 1685, 1732, 1733, 1753, 1754.

(48) Witness the recommendations of Accius (see Terentius Scaurus *GL* vii. 18. 12, and cf. Lucil, 351-5),

(49) See Eckinger (1892) 8-11; Threatte (1980) 136-7.

(50) Numerous examples can be found in the index of *nomina Romana* in Sherck (1969) 390-2,

(51) See Eckinger (1892) and Threatte (1980), as cited in n. 49.

(52) For which see Vine (1993) 163, and the whole of ch. 8.

(53) Note Bakum (1994) 19: 'There are no indications that they [i.e. nominatives in *-eis*, *-es*, *-is*] belonged to any dialect in particular.'

(54) Some remarks on naming formulae in the Delian inscriptions can be found in Touloumakos (1995) 82, 115.

(55) For 'accommodation theory' see e.g. Giles and Smith (1979).

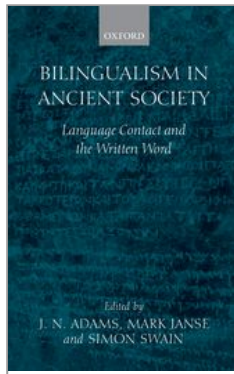
(56) I note in passing that there was some controversy among grammarians about the inflection of Greek names in Latin texts, with Quintilian, for example, favouring the integration of the name into the Latin inflectional system (see Quint, 1. 5. 58-63; Varro *LL* 10. 70). In poetry, on the other hand, the use of Greek inflections in Greek names seems to have been suggestive of a heroic or exotic world.

(57) Curbera argues that the ending is the Greek *-t* found sometimes as the genitive of the- is nouns that derive from *-ιος*, but these normally have an *-ου* genitive; the *-ι* form is very late in such Greek nouns (see Gignac 1981: 25-6, with a few such examples on p. 26).

(58) There is more evidence on the matter which I shall deal with elsewhere.

(59) See e.g. *ID* 2379 *Σπόριος Στ ερτίν ιος* Σπορίου 'Ρωμαίος Ἀρτέμιδι Σ ωτείρα; cf. e.g. 2266, 2269, 2346, 2355, 2401, 2407, 2409, 2449.

(60) On this inscription and its implications see Adams (1998).



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Bilingualism in Cicero? The Evidence of Code-Switching

SIMON SWAIN

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter explores the problem of Roman Latin-Greek bilingualism in the Late Republic. There is an abundance of evidence to show that Romans at this time knew classical Greek literature well enough. Some of them, like Cicero, knew key parts of it extremely well. Cicero himself was able to compose Greek prose and verse and to deliver set speeches in Greek before a Greek audience. No one would deny that he could speak Greek well. It is a commonly held view that Cicero's peers were fluent in Greek and regularly used it in conversation with each other. There are, however, no grounds for the latter belief. This chapter places Cicero's choices against the general background and function of bilingualism in Rome.

Keywords: bilingualism, Cicero, Greek, Latin, Rome, Greek literature

1. Introduction

ONE of the most important results of the sociolinguistic research of recent decades is the demonstration that a speaker's movement from one language to another, both over prolonged stretches of discourse and in single words or phrases, constitutes a continuous, unitary communicative performance. In the light of the many empirical studies that now exist, it seems incredible that individuals' ability to vary languages should once have been taken primarily as evidence of inadequate linguistic control.¹ Rather, it is apparent that in many cases language variation is a choice which is quite as complex as the choice of different registers or social levels within one and the same language ('diglossia'). If, then, the use of two languages may be seen from the perspective of the communicative intentions of the speaker or group of speakers concerned, this has implications for understanding what we call 'bilingualism'.

Full or 'balanced' bilingualism typically results from having parents of different nationalities or schooling from an early age in a foreign country or from living in a country where different linguistic groups regularly interact. The maintenance of such bilingualism depends on the constant exposure to and use of both languages in their respective domains. To understand how these languages function is to understand the possibilities of expression that are **(p.129)** allowable in either from time to time, in speech and in writing. Using them in their normal roles constitutes an 'unmarked' choice. Millions of people throughout the world alternate in this way between languages in the daily conduct of their private, public, and religious lives. But they may also use language variation to violate domain-specific rules—for example, using a word or phrase from Japanese in a prayer wholly in English or using a local language in Africa to a police officer whose background and position demand a national one. Such contravention is a 'marked' choice. In the case of the single word or phrase fluency in both languages is not, of course, a requirement. Indeed, the speaker may be virtually monolingual. But we may speak of an 'imperfect' or 'partial' bilingualism in the case of those who regularly manage a wide range of words and phrases (isolated or combined) from a second language and possess a good understanding of users of that language without speaking it perfectly themselves. Whereas the monoglot user of the odd foreign word can take hardly any account of its native parameters, the partial bilingual will do so as he uses the second language to further his communicative desires. He can deploy the language in marked or unmarked ways, but he cannot access in full the dual cultural choices open to the perfect bilingual, and it is evident that his use of the second language must to a greater or lesser degree remain dependent on the cultural matrix of his first language. In the case of language variation, then, his second-language usage may arguably be seen as an extension to the discourse patterns already set by his first tongue.

These basic points, to which I shall return, are relevant to the problem of Roman Latin—Greek bilingualism in the Late Republic. There is an abundance of evidence to show that Romans at this time knew classical Greek literature well enough. Some of them, like Cicero, knew key parts of it extremely well. Cicero himself was able to compose Greek prose and verse and to deliver set speeches in Greek before a Greek audience. No one would deny that he could speak Greek well. What does this show? It is a commonly held view that Cicero's peers were fluent in Greek *and* regularly used it in conversation with each other. There are, however, no grounds for the latter belief. If we make a different assumption (and a priori a far more likely one), that most Romans did not have the ability or the desire to communicate with each other in Greek on a regular basis, in other words, that they were no more than partially bilingual, the **(p.130)** way is open to enquire how they used *Greek* within the realms of possibility available to them as Romans, in other words how Greek fitted into Roman discourse. Cicero is the one Roman of this period about whose language use we are well informed. This chapter will place his choices against the general background and function of Roman bilingualism in his time.

2. Greek at Rome

The oldest known text in the Greek alphabet—a few letters scrawled on a grave gift—was found at ancient Gabii in the neighbourhood of Rome and dates to about 770 BC, some fifteen or twenty years before the Varronian foundation date of the city (753).² It is clear from the archaeology of early Rome and Latium that Greek culture was at home there from the beginning. Rome itself was a major city by the mid-sixth century and the assumption that Greek speakers were resident in it is entirely reasonable. For evidence of the use of Greek by the general population of Rome we must wait until the end of the third century BC. At any rate many scholars have felt that a relatively high familiarity with Greek among 'the slaves and lower social classes' is suggested by the frequency of Greek words and loanwords in the plays of Plautus.³ If this is right, the presence in Rome by this time of a substantial slave population drawn from the Greek-speaking East will have assisted in establishing some general Greek and Latin bilingualism, though to what degree we cannot determine.

In the second century knowledge of Greek language and literature among the Roman élite and their feeling for idiomatic usages and protocol in Greek can be demonstrated from the diplomatic contacts recorded by historians and the epigraphical evidence of treaties and documents—though it is well known that Romans took care to use Latin in official pronouncements. Furthermore, much of third-and second-century Roman literature (Livius, Naevius, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, as well as Plautus and Terence) consists **(p.131)** of translation or adaptation of Greek material. How knowledge of Greek was passed to Romans is unknown. The first employment of ethnic Greeks to teach Greek was by L. Aemilius Paullus, the general who ended the power of Macedon in 168 BC. The practical effect of his victory was that the Greek world was henceforth dependent on Rome while Romans were exposed as never before to the material and intellectual culture of Greece. Romans now wanted Greek culture; but their attitudes towards it undergo a noticeable change. Before the second century there is no evidence of any great tension in the use of Greek models. But as the century progressed the Roman intelligentsia increasingly found itself competing with Greeks for the cultural high ground their power required them to occupy. Whereas formerly they had been content to accept the dominance of Greek culture as a model for their own efforts, they were now presented with the insuperable problem of trying to supplant what they themselves acknowledged to be the best. Tension arose from the fact that the canonical texts studied in the school curriculum were Greek, for by the mid-first century BC Romans' pride in the achievements of their own language encouraged them to think that Latin culture was the true heir of archaic and classical Greek civilization.

For the ancient élites, both in the Greek world and at Rome, the main aim of education was to give young men access to social and political power. It taught them to be familiar with the language and style of the model literary texts—the area of 'grammar'—and gave them the ability to use the different forms and styles of language learnt thereby with fluency and originality—the area of 'rhetoric'. At Rome the Greek language came to be valued for the part it played in these areas in an education in *Latin*. The education system was bilingual, but not in the sense of a duality of languages, each with its own separate but interlocking status; rather, Greek was harnessed to the task of making Latin the new international language of culture.

In the *Brutus* (*On Famous Orators*), written in 46 BC, Cicero traces the evolution of Roman oratory down to his own times. He reviews nearly two hundred orators, beginning hesitantly with Brutus the Liberator and proceeding with confidence from Cornelius Cethegus (cos. 204) onwards.⁴ The underlying assumption is that these orators reveal an essentially native development of high culture **(p.132)** which owes little to Greek influences. For many centuries, he says, Greek orators remained superior in quality, but in the persons of M. Antonius (cos. 99) and L. Licinius Crassus (cos. 95) 'Latin's fullness of expression equalled the glory of the Greeks' (138), The Romans, then, had antiquity on their side too, and within the last fifty years they had achieved parity with Greece. This idea of the equivalence of the two languages is a very important one to Romans. One of its clearest expressions is the twenty or so inscriptions and passages in literature, beginning in the Ciceronian age, where Romans explicitly claim that they are educated *utraque lingua*, 'in both languages'.⁵ The suggestion of equivalence is misleading. For 'Greek' here means the written Greek classical language, whereas Latin is the language that is now living and employed by contemporaries.

One of the most important lights on the historical relationship between Roman grammar and rhetoric and Greek in the time of Cicero is the imperfectly preserved *On Grammarians and Rhetoricians* (*De grammaticis et rhetoribus*) by the scholar and biographer Suetonius, which was written about AD 115.⁶ Suetonius begins with *grammatica*. The subject, he says, invoking a Roman topos, took a long time to develop at Rome because there was no opportunity for 'liberal studies' in a society devoted to warfare. The first teachers were the 'semi-Greek poets', Ennius and Livius Andronicus (1). But the scholar who first inspired grammatical studies at Rome was the Stoic literary critic Crates of Mallos. While on an embassy to Rome he broke his leg and gave lectures which were then imitated by 'our people' (2). The subject was, however, properly established by two learned Roman knights of the late second/early first century BC (3). What strikes us about this three-stage introductory sketch is how Suetonius conceives the input of Greek scholarship. The first practitioners are dubbed 'semi-Greeks'. The main contribution is due to a personal accident. It is left to Romans to establish the discipline properly.

In the final part of his introduction Suetonius notes that ‘the old grammarians also used to teach rhetoric’. The evidence of Cicero, Seneca the Elder, and Quintilian confirms that at Rome the traditional Greek division between the grammarian and the rhetorician was blurred, at least to begin with, and this is a matter of no little consequence for the interaction of Greek and Latin during Cicero’s **(p.133)** lifetime. Until Latin literature had a canon of its own the Romans were obliged to look to the canonical texts of classical Athens to define literary quality. During the first half of the first century BC there arose a group of Roman orators who styled themselves the ‘Attici’ to signal their claim to be the intellectual heirs of key Attic authors. The claim amounted to more than imitation of a style of oratory. One of Cicero’s main complaints against these ‘Attici’, especially in his *Brutus* (284 ff.), *Orator* (24 ff.), and *De Optimo genere oratorum* (7–17),⁷ is that they took a decidedly linguistic view of what constituted the real ‘Attic’. It was not power of language but purity of language that was their main concern. One reason for this is what may be called the ‘grammaticalization’ of rhetoric at Rome, where the teaching of the basic rhetorical syllabus by grammarians ensured that linguistic concerns, especially the analogical principles of the Stoics, already had a powerful effect on Latin oratory in the first century BC. This was a Greek straitjacket that Cicero and others were keen to discard.

The curriculum of *grammatica* was Greek, and Greek seems to have been used metalinguistically as the language of instruction. At any rate at the end of the first century BC Q. Caecilius Epirota was ‘the first to hold informal discussions in Latin and the first to begin formal exposition of Virgil and the new poets’ (Suet. *Gramm.* 16. 3). That is, first he recognized and established the superiority of the Augustan poets over those of the third and second centuries (Ennius etc.), who were of necessity the earlier models in Latin. Second, it is implied that grammarians before Caecilius had discussed all literature in Greek (though they certainly wrote formal works in Latin). Rhetoric was also at least partly taught in Greek.⁸ ‘The acceptance of rhetoric among us came as late as that of grammar, and indeed was more problematical because it is a fact that its practice was sometimes prohibited’ (25. 1). Suetonius quotes a famous decree of the Senate from 161 BC banning philosophers and rhetors and an edict of the censors in 92 BC expressing their disapproval of the teachers of a new subject, Latin rhetoric. The background to the decree is unclear, and no more will be said on it. The censorial edict, however, is germane. The censors, Gn. Domitius Ahenobarbus and L. Licinius Crassus, take note of a ‘new sort of teaching’ which is attracting ‘the youth’. The teachers ‘style **(p.134)** themselves “Latin rhetors”’. The young are wasting their days. Such practices go against ancestral ideas of what children should learn in what type of school.

Suetonius goes on to trace the recognition of rhetoric at Rome in this same period. In the next chapter (26) he introduces us to its first teacher in Latin, L. Plotius Gallus, quoting a lost letter of Cicero (fr. 1 Watt) which names Plotius as the first man to teach in Latin. His school was popular but Cicero was kept away 'on the authority of the most learned men, who thought that talents could be nurtured better through Greek methods of training'. These 'learned men' must include Licinius Crassus, for in his dialogue *On the Orator* Cicero makes Crassus defend his edict (3. 93–5). Crassus has already been presented in this work as someone who is thoroughly at home in the Greek language but who wants to be known for his contempt of Greek learning (cf. 2. 2, 4). Now he is suggesting ways of improving the style of Roman oratory. Although Greek teachers, he says, are of variable quality, they do have 'a system of teaching and theory that is worthy of civilization'. The present Latin rhetors are unprofessional, but there is no reason to despair of the subject ever being presented in Latin of a high quality: 'both our tongue and the nature of things permit that old and superior wisdom of the Greeks to be transferred to our own circumstances and customs'. It will need men of great learning for this to happen, but, if they should appear, 'they will be ranked above the Greeks'.

Crassus' prediction about a coming generation who will be able to train in the Latin language cannot be read without thinking of Cicero himself. But Cicero was not the first to think him self good enough to expound rhetoric in Latin. From the 80s or 70s BC comes the earliest surviving handbook of Latin rhetoric, the anonymous *Ad Herennium*. The author of this tract is keen to disparage Greek teachers and to announce that his own system (which is actually an eclectic blend of Greek theory) is suitable for Roman conditions and free of the self-assertive irrelevance of Greek writers (1. 1). The beginning of the final book (4. 1–11) contains a lengthy attack on Greeks for restricting themselves to examples from the distant past: 'they should understand that we do not have to yield to antiquity in every point'. The Greeks demand the citation of 'some ancient orator, poet, or book' without offering anything as teachers themselves (4). The author is careful to praise 'the Greeks' invention of the art' (10), while criticizing its contemporary exponents. **(p.135)** The turbulent politics of the last century of the Roman Republic had again made eloquence—and its teachers—as important as it had been in democratic Athens. But the conditions which made possible the influx of teachers from the Greek East made them ideologically undesirable, and it is entirely understandable that exposition was demanded in Latin. So, Cicero's little work to his son, the *De partitione oratorio* begins with a like request to have in Latin what Cicero had already explained in Greek. Many others must have thought the same way.

If Latin became the language of theory, Greek nevertheless retained its importance in rhetorical education not only because of its literary legacy but also because Latin culture still needed continuous transfusions from it. In the early days of Latin rhetoric in the 80s Cicero recalls that he would declaim in Latin but 'more often in Greek, partly because Greek supplied more figures of speech and thereby shaped my Latin usage, and partly because the foremost tutors were Greek and I had no hope of correction or instruction unless I spoke Greek' (*Brutus* 310). He continued to do so till late in life (cf. *Ad Atticum* 9. 4, of March 49).⁹ Translation from Greek complemented this process by offering a real tool for evaluating the merits of the two languages and, of course, for demonstrating Latin's superiority. Again, Cicero did this till the end of his days. The *De optimo genere oratorum* (46 BC) is ostensibly an introduction to translations of Demosthenes' *On the Crown* and Aeschines' *Against Ctesiphon*, but really (also) a defence of Cicero's own choice of the best Greek models for his Latin style.¹⁰ Analogous to the benefits of translation was an admitted need to borrow or use loan translations for technical terms. In some authors this is accompanied by a defensiveness about Latin.¹¹ But Cicero himself is just as ready to see Latin virtues when he compares Latin and Greek technical discourse.¹² In all this we have a clear expression of a **(p.136)** dominant attitude among Late Republican Romans: that Latin was a language which was more than equal to Greek, and that a knowledge of Greek would show it.

3. Cicero's Choices

Cicero's attitudes to the Greeks are well known. He revered the ancient Greeks for their philosophical and political ideals, but treated modern-day Greeks with contempt and suspicion. In his letter of advice to his brother Quintus during Quintus' propraetorship of the province of Asia (*Ad Quintum fratrem* 1. 1) he warns of Greek failings, 'With the Greeks themselves particular relationships are to be avoided except with a very few, if any, who are worthy of old Greece. Those [in Asia] who are deceitful and fickle [*fallaces ... leves*] are extremely numerous: they are educated by continuous slavery to show an excessive degree of sycophancy, etc' (1. 1. 16). A little later on he becomes misty-eyed: without fear of anyone accusing him of *inertia* or *levitas* (usual charges against modern Greeks), he can profess that 'my achievements are due to the arts and sciences which have come down to us in the monuments and disciplines of Greece ... We owe so very much to that race of men that we will wish to demonstrate among them the precepts they have instructed us in and the things we have learnt from them' (1. 1. 28).¹³ Here we have the familiar attacks from the usual angles, That Cicero owes it all to the culture of the ancient Greeks serves to highlight the debased condition of their descendants, who are now under Roman rule. In his speech on behalf of Valerius Flaccus, who was accused by the Greeks of Asia of extortion, he adopts a similar procedure. There are many good Greeks, but also many 'shameless, uneducated, and fickle ones', and of course these are now testifying against Flaccus. 'But I do not say this of the whole race of the Greeks: I allow them their literature, I grant them their practice of the sciences and arts, I do not deny the appeal of their language, etc' (9).

(p.137) Like the letter, the speech is for the consumption of a broad public and the views are typical of Romans of Cicero's age. Similar assumptions are voiced to a more restricted audience of educated men interested in philosophy in the preface to the *Tusculan Disputations*, In this work, as in other philosophical writings, Cicero is quite ready to acknowledge that he is commenting on classical and Hellenistic Greek philosophy. He translates passages from Greek during the discussions. But the preface insists on the superiority of Roman wisdom over Greek both in invention and in the improvement of what has been borrowed from Greece. Hence it is time to spur Romans on by providing them with a philosophy in Latin (1. 1-9).¹⁴ Cicero's villa at Tuscum was an appropriate place to do this. It contained an 'Academy' (2. 9, 3. 7) and a 'Lyceum' (cf. *On Divination* 2. 8), gymnasiums with covered walkways, and seminar rooms to philosophize in. These would have been furnished with the Greek art which we know his agents and friends were ordered to collect for him (cf. e.g. *Ad familiares* 7. 23. 1-3). The appropriation of Greece was both intellectual and material.

There is no doubt that Cicero could compose literary Greek. This does not make him bilingual in the sense that he regularly thought or spoke in Greek. Rather, Greek helped to form 'my Latin usage' (cf. above, p. 135). A clear statement of this reason for learning Greek comes in the prefatory remarks to the *De officiis* where Cicero tells his son, who is studying philosophy in Athens with Cratippus, that work in Greek must be combined with study in Latin 'ut par sis in utriusque orationis facilitate' ('so that you have an equal ability in both languages').¹⁵ Cicero Junior's Latin will be improved by reading his father's own Latin works of philosophy and oratory, a combination of disciplines the Greeks had never really achieved (1. 1-4). Later Cicero remarks, 'We ought to use the language we know lest we incur well-deserved laughter like people who force in Greek words' (1. 111). That this injunction is part of a moral comparison about avoiding personal *discrepantia* makes it all the more telling.

What, then, are we to make of the extensive use of Greek in some of Cicero's letters, especially those addressed to Atticus? Here we have Greek in an ordinary, 'conversational' context. In some cases it is used to express rhetorical and philosophical technical terms. But there are very many examples where this is not so. One explanation **(p.138)** of Cicero's usage is the 'deficiency' of Latin, Thus Tyrrell and Purser: 'Very often Greek words are called in to supply a deficiency in the Latin language ... [I]n those very cases in a number of instances our own language fails, and we are obliged to borrow from the French.' They conclude 'that a French word is not merely the best, but the only, word to express the meaning of the Greek term'.¹⁶ Font advanced a similar explanation for 'haec insania Graceas opes inconsiderate usurpandi': the brevity offered by a Greek term (i.e. selection of the *mot juste*). He also suggested that Cicero's usage was a private one between him and Atticus. Steele, in an extensive discussion of the Greek of the epistles, again noted 'deficiency' as a reason, pointing out the fact that a number of the Greek words Cicero used were to enter Latin as fully naturalized borrowings. He also took up the point about familiarity: Cicero's 'vanity, working under the conditions of a friendly, unrestrained correspondence, must be reckoned as one of the reasons for the free use of the Greek'. This was helped by the fact that 'Greek was a recognized part of current society talk'.¹⁷ These views are still expressed. Although some modern scholars are sceptical about how much Greek was known to Cicero's peers,¹⁸ for others such as Dubuisson Greek was in regular use as a 'language of intimacy' among the Roman nobility of the Late Republic.¹⁹ Indeed, the evidence of Cicero's *Letters* may be held to suppose a widespread 'bilinguisme'.²⁰

4. Our Choices

One way to approach Ciceronian bilingualism is through current sociolinguistic research analysing bilingual conversation from the perspective of speakers' communicative intentions. This research begins with the work of the anthropologist John Gumperz. Before Gumperz no one had thought beyond the allocation of one language for one speech event. This 'allocation paradigm' certainly **(p.139)** envisaged interaction between languages. But in the work of Fish-man (the 'domain model') and Labov on speech usage in immigrant groups in New York in the 1960s it was very much a descriptive model of interaction.²¹ No one was interested in asking what such variety might actually be accomplishing. The classic 1959 study by Ferguson (Ferguson 1972 [1959]) on diglossia was one of the formative influences for change. Ferguson had argued that high and low varieties of the same language had fixed statuses which were used in discrete speech or writing situations as required to register authority, write poetry, speak to peers, and so on. Also important was Brown and Oilman's well-known 1960 article on 'power' vs. 'solidarity' coding in pronominal usage. A characteristic feature of these and similar studies was their primary interest in addressees rather than speakers and their intentions: language choice was dictated by what someone else wanted to hear or read, not by what a speaker or writer might wish to intend. The result was a world of macro-level, binary choices.

The breakthrough came in the 1972 paper by Blom and Gumperz on 'code-switches' between different varieties of Norwegian in a small Norwegian settlement named Hemnes(berget). Here it was shown conclusively that speakers regularly switch between different forms of a language within a single conversational turn. Crucially this switching was analysed as a skilled operation within the dimensions of a single communicative system. Change of code was analogous to using a line from *The Waste Land* in the course of otherwise natural English speech. Blom and Gumperz distinguished between 'metaphorical' and 'situational' switching. The latter involved a 'choice of variables [which was] narrowly constrained by social norms'. The former involved change in 'particular kinds of topics or subject matters rather than ... social situation'.²²

This essay has exerted a massive influence. The applicability of its results to code-switching involving quite separate languages has turned code-switching into one of the hottest properties in current sociolinguistic research on bilingualism.²³ Yet here too the accent was on the addressee as the determinant of language choice. **(p.140)** Gumperz's subsequent 'studies in interactional sociolinguistics', with detailed descriptions of conversational interchanges, naturally reflect this approach.²⁴ In these studies code-switching was seen as one of a range of 'contextualization clues' that enabled an observer to evaluate the 'discourse strategies' at work.²⁵ Gumperz effectively buried the idea that code-switching was merely a product of the stage of language acquisition, in which it was held to play a part, especially in Haugen's *Bilingualism in the Americas*, as a temporary phenomenon on the road to full bilingualism.²⁶ Rather, code-switching was a 'communicative resource'; it was not motivated by 'gaps', since repetition of information was one of its core features.

Gumperz is concerned with listeners more than speakers. This focus can be explained by looking briefly at the influences behind his ideas. Perhaps the most important for our purposes is the empirical sociolinguistic study of 'social networks'.²⁷ As a number of researchers have pointed out, it is a paradox of community-wide bilingualism that it reveals the *absence* of good interethnic communication. Code-switching is quite different: if speakers are making regular switches between languages, including switches within the same conversational turn or 'sentence', we are likely to be in a situation of effective intercommunication. Bilinguals are typically highly aware of distinctions in their communicative conventions: they know they will not be understood simply by deploying the conventions of their own social groups. With code-switching we may typically assume that speakers already share a high degree of non-verbalized understanding. Brown and Oilman's power-solidarity framework works in the same way. When speakers used pronouns of high 'solidarity', they were in contexts where they shared information and could be assumed to have some experience of intimacy. **(p.141)** In code-switching, then, we are likely to be dealing with 'closed network groups' and expect to find large numbers of 'truncated, idiomatic stock phrases and context bound deictic expressions'.²⁸

Also relevant are ideas of conversational ‘co-operation’ originating with Paul Grice’s theory of conversational ‘maxims’ which govern the reception of what a speaker says.²⁹ According to Grice, speakers ideally provide information which is sufficient, truthful, relevant, and accessible. Listening is the process of reading ‘violations’ of these maxims, i.e. responding to lies, repetitions, evasions, etc. Conversation in this model assumes a stable referential domain against which evaluations can be made. The ‘politeness theory’ of Penelope Brown and Stephen Levinson is a refinement of the Gricean maxims.³⁰ The main argument is that in practice speakers are by no means ‘maximally’ efficient. In fact they use a good deal of ‘indirectness’. They seek to manage conversation as ‘rational actors’ by using various mechanisms, which may be grouped together as ‘politeness’, in order to deflect dangers or ‘threats’ which would involve them in a loss of what Brown and Levinson call ‘face’. Clearly code-switching, at least within a defined network such as (e.g.) that of Cicero’s friends and acquaintances, may be a strategy for speaking indirectly, for claiming what the authors call ‘rapport’ with another speaker, or for expressing ‘defensiveness’ in one’s conversational contribution.

Politeness theory allows speakers choice in their discourse strategies. Yet it is still more concerned with the role of the listener than the speaker. This is a problem for the texts that are the focus of this paper, since letters are necessarily more self-conscious and authorially intended forms of discourse than direct oral exchanges. Among the current theories of code-switching the ‘matrix language frame’ (MLF) model developed by Carol Myers-Seotton has the advantage of focusing on the speaker and the speaker’s production of language, and this makes it particularly useful for analysing writing.³¹ In this model the ‘matrix language’ (ML) subjects the switched or ‘embedded language’ (EL) to two morpho-syntactic rules, the ‘morpheme-order principle’ and the ‘system morpheme principle’. More on this in a moment. Determination of the ML is a diachronic process between L₁ and L₂ and a synchronic process within a conversational exchange. One of the problems that **(p.142)** researchers have found with the theory is that in code-switched conversation it is not always easy in fact to identify the ML.³² For our purposes—Cicero’s *Letters*—this is not a difficulty.

The MLF model makes much use of the widely understood concept of 'markedness'. Speakers have enough in common to know which codes are marked and which unmarked within given interaction types (cf, social networks). In making their choice of code they are aware of their 'rights and obligations' with and to others, i.e. they are aware of the salient situational factors in a given community for a particular type of interaction. With regard to code-switches into another language, in most cases a marked choice is being made; but Myers-Scotton argues that a run of code-switched speech, which is the overall pattern of switches, may in itself carry the desired communicative intention and *in this case* represents the unmarked choice. When code-switching is unmarked, we are likely to find it intrasententially within a single conversational turn. The importance of this type of code-switching is that speakers must positively evaluate both/all of the identities being negotiated. Unmarked code-switching indicates an absence of ethnic tension and moreover the informality of the in-group.

The morpho-syntactic rules mentioned above serve to constrain the selections made from the languages used in the code-switches. The 'morpheme-order principle' states that the order of the morphemes used in code-switched speech are those of the matrix language. It may not apply when the code-switch consists of two or more morphemes from the embedded language. In this case we may be presented with an 'EL island', i.e. a group of lexemes with internal grammatical relations, which are subject to certain predictable 'triggers', always allowing for varying levels of congruence between the grammars of a given pair of languages. The 'system morpheme principle' dictates that only system morphemes (i.e. the function words, such as adverbs, possessives, demonstratives, interrogatives, broadly equivalent to 'bound morphemes', and the inflectional affixes) from the matrix language may have external grammatical relations; thus if the embedded language's system morphemes are used, they will be those with internal relations only, such as plurality. **(p.143)** Again exceptions will be present in 'EL islands', for in these system morphemes from the embedded language will operate. In Latin and Greek, languages with a high degree of congruence, it is difficult to prove violations of the morpheme-order principle. The system morpheme principle seems to hold likewise.³³

A key feature of the MLF model is that it does not treat code-switching as a purely syntactic phenomenon. Rather, it builds successfully on psycholinguistic models of language learning and language production. Speech-error analysis in the area of word exchanges in particular shows that such exchanges happen predominantly with words of the same grammatical category, which psycholinguists refer to as a 'form class law', and are the result of 'parallel processing'. The corollary of this in the MFL model is that code-switching typically occurs where there is morpheme congruence between the content morphemes (such as verbs and nouns) of the matrix language and the embedded language. Following Levelt and his school, it is argued that lexical choices determine the realized surface syntax. This is why the morpho-syntax of a code-switched sentence depends on the matrix language, and also why a code-switch will in most cases be a deliberate choice to negotiate more than one identity. The language production model also helps to account for 'EL islands', since these may be envisaged as cases where the embedded language is accessed by error: once activated, the current constituent will be completed as an 'island' expressed in the embedded language.³⁴

Myers-Scotton's work has also made progress in the difficult area of distinguishing borrowed items from code-switched items. Until not so long ago languages were generally viewed as fairly discrete systems. Borrowings (single words) were brought in to fill gaps, especially gaps of the lexicon.³⁵ The research of the last two decades has viewed borrowing itself as a sociolinguistic process. Each borrowing is subject to a varying degree of phonological and morphological integration.³⁶ Myers-Scotton builds on these ideas. She also stresses the commonsensical but often underplayed distinction **(p.144)** between borrowings which do fill gaps (technology, higher intellectual culture) and those which complement the existing lexicon with a high degree of synonymy. The former will typically enter the language suddenly as and when their use becomes necessary. They are 'predictable' in the sense that there is no way of talking about the subjects to which they pertain without using them (cf. Greek loans in Cicero's philosophical works). Borrowings which complement nouns and verbs in general usage are not predictable. Myers-Scotton observes that these function very much like code-switches, even though they may formally belong to the lexicon of the 'matrix language' rather than the 'embedded language'. If we ask why such forms are borrowed at all, we must think in terms of the speaker's discourse strategies and the identities he wishes to advance. Often the donor language will have a higher prestige in relation to the subjects and domains in play. A point worth noting in this regard is that borrowed words of either type (higher culture or complementary) may in the usage of an elite be kept phonologically or morphologically distinct for psycho-sociolinguistic reasons. Finally, it is important to stress that borrowings, to whatever degree they are integrated, once again do not imply that a speaker is fully bilingual.

All linguistic models suffer from an overly restrictive quest for universal applicability. Critics of Myers-Scotton's model stress the extraordinary flexibility of real speech and the real problem of identifying a discrete, standard variety in a community that uses more than one language.³⁷ As has been remarked, this is not a problem with Cicero, though there are of course very many epigraphical and papyrological texts where it certainly is one.³⁸ Another problem is the claimed universality of the MLF morpho-syntactic principles. But as Myers-Scotton recognizes, the principles must be accommodated to the languages in question and a high degree of congruence in morpho-syntax will inevitably make for a less predictable environment. It is perhaps a failing of Myers-Scotton that she underplays the macro-social context in her reaction to Gumperz and his followers.³⁹ But she is not a sociologist or an historian and cannot be expected to employ concepts such as Bourdieu's 'euphemization' (lexical substitution in problematical or affective contexts), which **(p.145)** can be fitted perfectly well into standard sociolinguistic analysis, should anyone wish it.⁴⁰

The MLF model was established on the basis of oral data. But there is no reason why this or other modern sociolinguistic approaches cannot be applied to written texts, including those from the ancient world.⁴¹ It is a problem of writing, as Romaine has observed in her pioneering 'socio-historical' study of relativization in Middle Scots, that stylistic/genre effects interfere with normal usage, even in quoted speech.⁴² Against this, as she points out, drawing on Labov's discussion of the 'observer paradox',⁴³ the best sort of data is precisely the data that observation can rarely achieve: unobserved speech. In the case of texts like Cicero's letters, the majority of which were never intended for publication,⁴⁴ we are close to solving a problem that besets research into oral communication.

The advantages of the MLF model are these. Code-switched speech is treated as monolingual speech production, which is the logical progression of treating it as skilled performance. The focus is on the producer, not the recipient, of language. Single words, which occur once only, are as readily analysable as whole sentences. Importantly, the conception of code-switched language as a pattern in itself allows us to move beyond individual snippets of speech to a global regime where (e.g.) Latin—Greek code-switching may appear as a natural choice, and one which is entirely consistent with the macro-social context of the Late Republic and the development of Latin culture in relation to Greek.

Finally, it is worth remembering the fact that written texts have readers. Modern sociological research analyses reading as a practice specific to a particular society. It has been argued that a key function of reading is the restoration of the ‘illocutionary’ effects of real speech, i.e. the prosodic and paralinguistic features which give spoken words their meaning.⁴⁵ These effects can best be restored by readers of the same social or cultural group. For ancient writers and readers clues to the illocution in the form of **(p.146)** punctuation or paratextual devices were largely absent. For Romans it was acceptable (within limits) to change language and script. This offered a very strong indication of a Latin writer’s communicative intentions, at least to a reader from the same social group. In the case of Cicero’s letters, then, code-switching into Greek is not only expressive of the identity Cicero negotiates with Atticus and others, but in itself is a formal means of making this identity ostensible.⁴⁶

5. Ciceronian Code-Switching in the *Letters*

It has often been remarked that Cicero’s Greek has a ‘Hellenistic’ feel: he does not attempt to imitate the language of the classical Athenian writers as he ‘might, to judge by his tastes in Greek literature, be expected’ to do.⁴⁷ It is certainly true that Cicero’s letters and other writings contain many Greek words which are ‘late’, first attested, or only attested in him.⁴⁸ As Rose observes, ‘Hellenistic formations, such as the long list of compounds in ἐϋ-, meet us at every turn; and very numerous words have non-classical meanings while classical enough in form. In this connexion it is noticeable that τὰ ὅλα, on both occasions that it occurs, means τὰ πάντα, resembling the modern usage.’⁴⁹ Rose goes on to point out obvious non-Attic syntactical features such as εἰς + the accusative replacing the dative at *Ad Atticum* 6. 4. 3, which is a well-known feature of later Greek,⁵⁰ the use of ἵνα to introduce a command (*Ad Atticum* 6. 5. 2), and the use of the Greek perfect tense with **(p.147)** the historic sense of the Latin perfect (‘This would be particularly natural for a Roman’).⁵¹

The assumption that Cicero could have written classical Greek but chose not to tells us little about the role of Greek in Cicero's language usage. However, it is important because it serves to prove that Cicero's Greek was contemporary, conversational Greek (late forms, neologisms). This leads to the view that Greek was regularly used by Cicero and his circle for private conversation. None of this holds up. First, there is no reason to think that Cicero was much aware of his non-classical usages. He lived before the compilation of lexica of Attic and non-Attic Greek which made people conscious of the distance between educated koine and classical Attic and drove a wedge between the language of normal speech and that which was to be used in literary composition. Moreover, Cicero at least thought that his public Greek prose and verse appeared fully authentic (see below, p. 163, on his history of his consulship), and although the formality of his language in the letters varies enormously,⁵² there is no reason to think that most of the Greek he uses was felt by him to be at variance with the Greek literary heritage. Indeed, it is not easy to identify purely spoken forms. Most of his Greek vocabulary is part of the educated (written and spoken) Greek language of his day.⁵³ Second, there is (as has been pointed out) no evidence to prove that any educated Roman did regularly hold conversations in Greek with or write letters in Greek to his fellow Romans. The evidence we have shows something quite different: the use of Greek within and as part of Cicero's and his friends' *Latin*: in other words, the strategy of code-switching.

What I propose to do here in what is necessarily a preliminary study is to comment on the general pattern of Greek usage in the *Letters* and then to exemplify this by reading some of the more interesting passages. In referring below to a code-switch or a single code-switch, I shall mean one or more words of Greek (which may **(p.148)** or may not constitute a sentence);⁵⁴ in referring to a sequence or run of code-switches, I shall mean two or more code-switches (as defined) occurring within a single topic and separated from one another by one or more words of Latin,⁵⁵

First, then, the general pattern. By far the largest number of Greek words occurs in *Ad Atticum*. Pomponius Atticus was a Roman knight who took his *cognomen* from his years of residence in Athens, his fondness for the city, and others' recognition of this. For example, Cornelius Nepos emphasizes the Athenian connection at the start of his biography of the man (2–4), Atticus certainly liked Athens for its culture. He made benefactions to the city and perhaps to the sanctuary at Eleusis, where a statue of him was set up by the daughter of Phaedrus, the head of the Epicurean School who had been his teacher.⁵⁶ But he was also a successful businessman. The first and main period of his residence in Athens from 86 to 65 coincides with a grave downturn in the Athenian and Aegean economy following Mithridates' sack of Delos in 88 and Sulla's sack of Athens itself in 86. Nevertheless, Athens remained a focus of economic activity and there was plenty of scope for banking and moneylending (Atticus had inherited a large fortune) and trading, especially in slaves.⁵⁷ In this light Atticus' cultural posturings at Athens are part of a familiar Roman view of Greece as both museum and territory.

Cornelius Nepos informs us that Atticus 'spoke Greek so well that he seemed to be a native of Athens, while his Latin language possessed such grace that its elegance appeared innate rather than cultivated' (4. 1), It was evidently a little joke between Cicero and Atticus to refer to Atticus as a native Athenian (e.g. *Ad Atticum* 1. 19. 10 *homini Attico*; 1. 20. 6 *Gmecum*; 2. 9, 4 *τίτον Ἀθηναῖον*; 4. 4a, 1 *vos Graeci*; 13. 35. 1 *O rem indignam! gentilis turn urbem auget*), safe in the knowledge that he 'traced his origins to the oldest Roman stock' (Nepos, *Atticus* 1. 1).⁵⁸ Atticus' assumption of a Greek identity is simply a claim to intellectual respect from fellow Romans. **(p.149)** In the particular relationship with Cicero, who loved Atticus 'like another brother' (*Ad familiares* 13. 1. 5), the claim was reinforced by the composition in Greek of a history of Cicero's consulship (Nepos, *Atticus* 18. 6),⁵⁹ Cicero from time to time records Greek words or phrases, including quotations, that Atticus has used in his own letters to Cicero.⁶⁰ Letter 9, 10 provides good examples, for Cicero quotes from a batch of thirteen of Atticus' letters. His quotations are of a few lines each. Most contain one or more Greek words or phrases, and Cicero picks these up and develops them, The result is one of the highest concentrations of code-switching in the *Letters*.⁶¹ There is no possibility of estimating from this or other passages how frequently Atticus code-switched, but it was surely not less than Cicero himself.

Most of Cicero's letters to Atticus contain a few code-switches. But there is a wide fluctuation in the overall pattern. Different periods of Cicero's life show different rates. For example, there is no code-switching at all in book 3, which comprises the letters written during Cicero's exile in 58-57 (the same is true of the letters from this time to his friends and brother).⁶² There is a high rate of code-switching in the letters to Atticus written during Cicero's proconsulship of Cilicia and his journey to and from the province (books 5-6 and the start of 7).⁶³ Again, there is no code-switching in book 11 for the letters of 48 to the summer of 47, the period of Pharsalus and its aftermath, nor in *Ad familiares* from the same period.⁶⁴ Another noticeable absence is found in the sequence of letters at 12. 13-20 (7-15 March 45) after Tullia's death in February 45.⁶⁵

What are we to make of this variation? The temptation is to **(p.150)** psychologize: Cicero's code-switching is closely tied to his and his correspondents' moods. But we can still state that Atticus and Cicero share a set of 'rights and obligations' (above, p. 142) that calls for the regular deployment of Greek over and above undefinable changes of temper. By contrast there is no code-switching in the letters to Terentia and Tullia, which are collected in book 14 of *Ad familiares*, except for the reference to a health problem (*Χολήν ἄκρατον noctu eject*) in letter 7. 1.⁶⁶ Nor is there much in the letters to Tiro, Cicero's faithful slave (and later freedman) cum secretary, in book 16 of *Ad familiares*.⁶⁷ What of Cicero's 'friends'? The fact of the matter is that he uses virtually no Greek to his many correspondents from the public sphere of political and intellectual life.⁶⁸ The letters to M. Caelius Rufus show this well, for we have nine letters of Cicero to Caelius (2. 8-16), all from the period of Cicero's proconsulship, and for comparison seventeen letters from Caelius to Cicero (forming book 8 of *Ad familiares*), most of which are from the same period. Cicero employs two code-switches (2. 8. 1 *πολιτικώτερον*, 13. 2 *κωμικὸς μάρτυς*). Caelius uses one sequence of code-switching (8. 3. 3) which (like Cicero's 'witness in comedies') reflects the metaliterary role of Greek at Rome (above, p. 133): a request that Cicero dedicate a *σύνταγμα* to him which will mark their friendship and have *διδασκαλίαν quondam, ut versetur inter manus*. There may also be an element of embarrassment ('indirectness') behind these switches, of asking for a favour which might not be granted. True, Cicero's notorious request to L. Lucceius at *Ad familiares* 5. 12 to write a history of the Catilinarian conspiracy contains no code-switches. But Caelius was 'our *familiaris*' (*Ad familiares* 3. 10. 5), whereas Lucceius (despite his later *amor* for Cicero in his grief: *Ad familiares* 5. 15) seems more distant and the approach to him is highly elaborate and formal.⁶⁹

(p.151) In letters to other friends code-switching is even rarer.⁷⁰ That real friendship is an important basis of code-switched speech is suggested by the letters to Cicero's brother, Quintus. In the seventy-two pages they cover in Shackleton Bailey's Cambridge edition there are forty single code-switches including (semi-)quotations. If, for the sake of argument, these were distributed evenly, we would have a code-switch on 55 per cent of the printed pages. This compares with a figure of 17 per cent for Cicero's letters to Caelius (and 6.5 per cent for those from Caelius to Cicero). The letters to Atticus show a very much higher percentage: the figures for (e.g.) books 5–7 are respectively 122 per cent, 206 per cent (this excludes the continuous Greek of 6. 4–5), and 125 per cent. Even so, it must be stressed that code-switching forms a minute proportion of Cicero's language to Atticus as a whole.

In what follows I give a number of examples of Ciceronian code-switching.⁷¹ I start by illustrating obvious functions of the phenomenon, and then develop more complex issues before finally citing four longer passages to illustrate sequences of code-switching.

Medicine, discussion of literature, and the emotive sphere have already been mentioned as factors behind code-switching. Analogous to the last is the sphere of family life, which is of great importance in the letters. Consider the following:

(1) 2. 9. 4: Terentia tibi salutem dicit καὶ κικέρων ὁ μικρὸς ἀσπάζεται
τίτον Ἀθηναῖον

Terentia sends her love. *Le petit Cicerón salue Tite l'Athénien.*

(2) *Ad Quintum fratrem* 2. 5. 1 = 2. 4. 3: ἀμφιλαφίαν autem illam, quam tu soles dicere.

As for the *abondance* you often talk about,

(3) 13. 42. 1: uenit ille ad me “καὶ μάλα κατηφής”. et ego “σὺ δὲ δὴ τί αὖννους;” ‘rogas?’ inquit.

He came to see me, ‘right down in the mouth’. I greeted him with ‘You there, why so pensive?’ ‘Need you ask?’ was the answer.

In (1) it is possible that the code-switch attempts to convey the affection of the child for Atticus. It reminds us of the early learning of Greek by children of the Roman upper class. In (2) Quintus **(p.152)** and Cicero refer jocularly to the moneys needed for their building operations.⁷² Case (3) is particularly interesting as the letter itself is a report of a *dialogus* (in direct speech) between Cicero and his nephew. After Cicero's opening code-switch the conversation continues in Latin.⁷³

Far more common are code-switches that act as discourse markers, i.e. tag phrases, (abbreviated) proverbs, and metalinguistic comments. Examples:

(4) 6. 1. 16: τό παραδοξότατον: usuras ... seruauit etiam Servilius.

Most surprising of all: the rates of interest ... were maintained even by Servilius.

(5) 6. 1. 20: scribis enim sic, τίλοιπόν;

You write '*Quoi encore?*'

(6) 7. 1.5: nam ὁδοῦ πάρεργον uolo te hoc scire.

En passant, I want you to know.

(7) 7. 7. 4: id est 'Αβδηριτικόν.

That is senseless.

(8) 7. 7, 7; ἐμπολιτεύομαί σοι iam dudum.

Well, I have been inflicting my political views on you all this while.

(9) 7. 12. 3: et iis me dem qui tenent, qui potiuntur? "αἰδέομαι Τρῶας" [cf. *Iliad* 6, 442], nec solum ciuis sed etiam amici officio reuocor.

Shall I offer myself to those in actual possession of power? 'I fear Trojans', and my obligations not only as a citizen but as a friend call me back.

Note the semi-quotation used as a proverbial tag in (9). These examples show clearly that 'gaps in the lexicon' do not offer a sufficient reason for code-switching. They are also a good indication of the high level of 'solidarity' (cf. above, p. 140) between Cicero and Atticus.

Many of Cicero's code-switches involve humour/irony/sarcasm. These are allied to discourse markers inasmuch as they direct the reader's response, though at a far more sophisticated level. Examples:

(10) 14. 2. 1, 3: altera epistula de Madaro scripta ... habes igitur

φαλάκρωμω inimicissimum oti, id est Bruti.

(p.153)

The other letter was about *Le Chauve*... Well, there you have him—a most peace-hating, which is to say Brutus-hating, *calvitie*!

(11) 2. 17. 1: turbat Sampsicramus. nihil est quod non timendum sit;

ὁμολογουμένως τυραννίδα συσκευάζεται.

Sampsicramus is out for trouble. We can expect anything. He is confessedly working for absolute power.

(12) 7. 1. 1: et egi tecum ut videres ne quid φιλοτιμία eius quern nosti nobis noceret.

And I asked you to see I came to no harm from the *philotimy* of you know who.

(13) 7. 17. 2: accusaui mecum ipse Pompeium qui ... tantas res ... Sestio nostro scribendas dederit; itaque nihil umquam legi scriptum

Σησιτιωδέστερον.

In my own mind I blamed Pompey ... for giving our friend Sestius the job of composing documents of such importance ... And in fact I have never read anything more typically Sestian.

confidentiality is part of Cicero's humour in these examples. 'Madarus' is a nickname for C. Matius, which Cicero uses here instead of the usual nickname 'Calvena' (referring to his baldness; cf. *calvus*, 'bald'). In Matius' own villa, from where Cicero was writing, it was safer to use an alternative based on the later Greek word μαδαρός, 'bald'. The name occurs here only and Shackleton Bailey may therefore be right in suggesting that it should be written in Greek.⁷⁴ In any case we have an example of a code-switch functioning as a proper name.⁷⁵ This has suggested φαλάκρωμα in § 3 and an unrecoverable Greek word in § 1 (which has been corrupted to φαλάκρωμα. 'Sampsiceramus' in (11) works similarly: but this time the real name of a legendary oriental king is used. The name accords with a familiar way of characterizing political enemies and criminals at Rome as figures from Greek myth and legend.⁷⁶ Although such names are familiar in Latin, they effectively function as code-switches when they are applied in this way. 'Sampsiceramus' and the title 'Arabarches' ('our Arabian Prince'), which Cicero (p.154) also applies to Pompey,⁷⁷ call forth several regular code-switches in the same letter.⁷⁸ The use of Greek here shows well the possible connotations of the language for a Latin speaker: oriental manners, abuse of power, deviancy, etc.

In (12) the 'philotimy of you know who' is humorous and again circumspect, though here referring to a private matter, i.e. Cicero's fear that his wife's freedman, Philotimus, had been financially dishonest. The pun is an obvious one (*philotimia* means 'ambition', but is used especially with reference to spending money).⁷⁹ But Cicero also wished to keep the matter private, in case it reflected badly on him. This wish gives rise to the two unique long passages of Greek at *Ad Atticum* 6. 4. 3 and 6. 5. 1–2. These passages give us in fact little information about Cicero's Greek. At 6. 4. 3 and 6. 7. 1 he describes his language here as *μυστικώτερον* 'en langue voilé' and *Graece ἐν αἰνιγμοῖς* 'in Greek, riddle fashion', referring to content and style. Humour is the glue of these salmagundis, for the vocabulary is a comic mixture of koine business terms and words and phrases modelled on Greek epic and tragic diction (*τῆς δάμαρτός μου, τοῦ Κροτωνιάτου τυραννοκτόνου, ὑπό τι πεφυρακέναι, ἐξ ἄστεως ἐπταλόφου στείχων*). That said, we should not forget that poetic quotation or partial quotation plays an important part in the overall pattern of Ciceronian code-switching alongside normal words (see below, pp. 158–60), and in this regard these allusions are not so strange. It is worth pointing out that the use of a code-switch to typify an individual, as in *φιλοτιμία*, does not necessarily involve humour: contrast *ἀκοινονόητος* ('ungracious') applied to Brutus at 6. 1. 7 and 6. 3. 7.

Example (13) takes humour further with a nonce coinage indicating Cicero's view of Sestius' prose. *Ad Atticum* 1. 16. 13 is another good example of humorous formation:

(14) qua re, ut opinor, φιλοσοφητ έον, id quod tu facts, et istos consulatus non flocci facteon.

(p.155)

Therefore I suppose one must take to letters, as you do, and not care a button for their consulships.

The form *facteon* violates Myers-Scotton's system morpheme principle. The explanation for it is that Latin and Greek are typologically similar languages, that Cicero was aware of this, and used it to make up a joke form. Cf. *Ad familiares* 9. 22. 3 and *Ad Atticum* 7. 3. 10:

(15) [His] Connus uocitatus est. num id obscenum putas? cum loquimur 'terni', nihil flagiti dicimus; at cum 'bini', obscenum est? 'Graecis quidem' inquires. nihil est in uerbo, quoniam et ego Graece scio et tamen tibi dico 'bini', idque tu facis, quasi ego Graece non Latine dixerim.

[His] name was Connus. Do you think that obscene? When we say *terni* [three each], there's nothing to shock; but when we say *bini* [two each], is it obscene? 'Yes', you say, 'to a Greek'. Then there is nothing in the word, since I know Greek, and I still say to you *bini*, and you behave as though I spoke in Greek instead of in Latin.

(16) uenio ad 'Piraeaa', in quo magis reprehendendus sum quod homo Romanus 'Piraeaa' scripserim, non 'Piraeum' (sic enim omnes nostril locuti sunt) quam quod addiderim <'in'κ.

Now I come to Piraeus, in which matter as a Roman I am more open to criticism for writing *Piraeaa* instead of *Piraeum*, the form universally used by our countrymen, than for adding the preposition.

The first of these passages is part of a discussion of the development of obscene senses of words and double entendres and is aimed at the Stoic idea that the wise man will say what he wants to say. In Latin discourse (*is Connus uocitatus est*) the Greek name Connus is funny because of the Latin word *cunnus* 'cunt'; to a Greek Latin *bini* is obscene if it is taken as the Greek βίvei 'fuck!'⁸⁰ But Cicero goes on to make a more interesting point: what happens in a Latin sentence (*tibi dico 'bini'*), if the hearer believes (*idque tu facis*) the speaker has code-switched into Greek? This seems to show awareness of what we might term 'parallel processing' (i.e. misfirings in the language production system of someone who regularly invokes a subsidiary identity set): *quoniam et ego Graece scio*. But Cicero is certainly (also) specifying a hearer's readiness to take a word as a Greek one, i.e. to expect a code-switch in Latin discourse. There are no **(p.156)** general implications to be drawn from this, since the expectation of the code-switch is Cicero's own ("Yes", you say, "to a Greek"). Cicero does in fact make a few code-switches in his letters to his addressee here, Papirius Paetus, and significantly demonstrates the superiority of Latin in one passage (see below on (22)).

Passage (16) introduces the difficult area of borrowings—proper nouns form a class of ‘predictable’ borrowings—and in particular the problem of how far what is borrowed should be naturalized. Cicero had been ticked off by Atticus for writing *in Piraeae cum exissem* ‘on landing at Piraeus’ (6. 9. 1). He defends his use of the preposition *in* from Latin authors, but admits that he should not have used a Graecizing form of the name (cf. koine Πειραιέα). The problem is of what Varro calls ‘Greek-style declensions’ in Latin.⁸¹ Cicero notes that he alone uses *Piraeae*. We see here an example of ‘denativization’, a phenomenon that has been noticed in several modern situations of bilingualism or code-switching whereby a well-integrated borrowing is replaced by a form closer to that of the original.⁸² The phenomenon has been observed particularly in the case of educated speakers, whose refusal to integrate borrowings phonologically is a deliberate statement of social distinction.⁸³ In his letters Cicero also uses *Piraeum*. It is arguable that the Graecizing *Piraeae* could not have been used elsewhere, and it is surely significant that it is used to Atticus rather than to another correspondent.

We can follow this problem of naturalization vs. denativization in three predictable Greek borrowings of great importance to Cicero, φιλοσοφ-, and πολιτ-. The first was naturalized from the time of Old Latin comedy and epic. Cicero himself lists it with *rhētorica*, *physica*, and *dialectica* as Latin by ‘usage’ (*consuetude*) ‘like many other words’ at *Academica* 1. 25. Thus he uses *philosoph-* and its congeners many hundreds of times; but on nine occasions he code-switches to the Greek form, and eight of these occasions are in the letters, seven in *Ad Atticum*.⁸⁴ All but one of **(p.157)** these Greek forms refer to Cicero’s practice of or writings about philosophy. He also uses the Latin form in the letters in the same sense (and roughly for the same number of times); but it is significant that he wants to use the Greek form to Atticus. The second word is similar: *historia* was long naturalized and Cicero uses it and *historicus* many times. Yet to Atticus he is ready to use the Greek forms alongside Latin *historia*.⁸⁵ The Greek root πολιτ- is virtually never found naturalized in Latin. Indeed, Cicero uses *politicus* just once, in conjunction with *philosophus*.⁸⁶ But πολιτικ- occurs in him thirty-one times. All of these instances are in the letters, barring three examples in *Brutus* and *De finibus* where the Greek form is explicitly labelled as Greek.⁸⁷ Again, it is clear that Cicero feels free to use a Greek word he would not in general use outside the correspondence even as a borrowed form, and it is no surprise that the majority of the examples are in letters to Atticus.⁸⁸

In his study of Greek loanwords in Cicero's letters Oksala has drawn attention to the varying frequency with which borrowings are used.⁸⁹ There are suggestive correlations with the levels of code-switching (for example, borrowings are very rare in books 3 and 11 of *Ad Atticum*). This indicates that Cicero was quite conscious of the Greek identity such borrowings may access. The denativization of long-naturalized loans like *philosophia* is a further, clear-expression of this awareness. Gardner-Chloros has neatly defined a borrowing as 'a code-switch with a full-time job'.⁹⁰ For Cicero a borrowing could easily become a code-switch again by a simple change of alphabet. With regard to Graecizing morphology the issue is more complex. *Piraeëa* is not a Greek code-switch. Presumably the name was too well lodged in public and private Latin to make Greek script acceptable. The forms *Myiasis* (nominative, cf. *Μυλασείης*) and *Alabandis* (nominative and accusative, cf. *Ἀλα-βανδееίης*) at *Ad familiares* 13. 56. 1, where Cicero is thinking as a **(p.158)** proconsul, are comparable inasmuch as they show the Latin script demanded in public-political usage.⁹¹

From borrowings to quotations. Most of Cicero's code-switches are single words or phrases/formulas which stand alone. They obey the MLF model since they are 'content morphemes' which are subject to the syntax of the matrix language, Latin. It is consistent with the model to find full Greek inflections in these words (without external grammatical relations). But in some cases Cicero writes whole clauses in Greek, as in (1). Here the morpho-syntax is Greek, and the result is complete, well formed, with internal structural dependencies. In language production terms the phrase *Κικρῶν ὁ μικρός* has called forth the Greek verb *ἀσπάζεταιται*. In (8) the Greek verb has generated a Greek enclitic pronoun (a system morpheme); but this 'EL island' is embedded within a clause of the matrix language, as the adverbial expression shows, Cf. 13. 29. 1,

(17) *in hoc τὸν τῷ φόν μου πρὸς θεῶν τροποφόρησον.*
Indulge my folly in this, *je vom en prie*.

Here the Greek enclitic pronoun dictates the language of the rest of the sentence. See also example (11).

There is one particular group of (what are effectively) EL islands which could easily be overlooked: Greek quotations.⁹² It is not a problem to call a quotation a quotation in non-code-switched writing. But in the letters they should be seen as playing a part in the general pattern of code-switching. It has already been noted that Cicero often uses tags or proverbs that originated in Greek authors (mostly poets), e.g. (9) above. He also quotes in the normal sense of the 'word'.⁹³ Even where such quotations stand alone, they serve to carry the argument further while sustaining and expressing a claim to high culture. Structurally they are no different from Cicero's reported words in (3),⁹⁴ even where several lines are quoted (e.g. **(p.159)** 14. 13. 1). Occasionally these quotations are built into the frame to form an 'island'. Examples:

(18) *Ad Quintum* 3. 7 (9). 2; “ὁ δὲ μαίνεται οὐκ ἔτ’ ἀνεκτῶς” [*Iliad* 8. 355]
qui ludos † ccccc† comparet.

‘Mad he is, past all bearing’—planning a show to cost HS *,

(19) 7. 6. 2; “οὐ γὰρ δὴ τόδε μείζον ἔπι κακὸν” [*Od.* 12, 209] quam cum
quinquennium prorogabamus.

‘Sure, ’tis no worse a thing’ than when we gave him his five-year
extension,

(20) 7. 11. 1: honestum igitur ... χρεῶν ἀποκοπὰς, φυγῶν καθόδους, ses-
centa alia scelera moliri, “τὴν θεῶ μεγίστην ὥστ’ ἔχειν
τηρᾶννίδα” [Euripides, *Phoenissae* 506]?

And is it good ... to plan debt cancellations, recall of exiles, and a
hundred other vilianies ‘all for that first of deities, Sole Power’?

(21) 13. 28. 2: nunc me iuua, mi Attice, consilio “πότερον δίκᾱ τείχος
ὄψιον”, id est utrum aperte hominem asperner et respuam, “ἢ σκο- λιαίς
ἀπάταις”. ut enim Pindaro sic “δίχα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν”.

Now, my dear fellow, help me with your advice, ‘whether by honesty the
loftier tower’, i.e. whether I should openly rebuff the fellow and spurn
him off, or ‘by crooked wiles’. Like Pindar’s, ‘my mind’s in twain; which
way declare the truth?’

Cicero uses Latin quotations in a similar way (e.g. Lucilius at 13. 52. 1, ? Accius
at 15. 11. 3 following shortly after a tragic *adespoton Graecum*). But the choice
of Greek is significant, and again it is Atticus with whom that choice is made
freely. *Ad familiares* 9. 26. 2 is interesting in this regard:

(22) sed tamen ne Aristippus quidem ... erubuit cum esset obiectum
habere eum Laida. ‘habeo’ inquit, ‘non habeor a Laide’ (Graece hoc
melius; tu, si uoles, interpretabere).

But after all, even Aristippus ... did not blush when someone twitted him
with keeping Lais as his mistress. ‘Lais is my mistress,’ said he, ‘but I’m
my own master’ (it’s better in the Greek; make your own rendering, if you
care to).

The addressee is Papirius Paettus, a supposedly witty intellectual who receives Cicero's witticisms on obscenities ((15) above). In **(p.160)** the twelve letters Cicero sends him there are nine code-switches relating to (meta-)literary or technical matters.⁹⁵ Significantly, two of these terms are cited to prove that Latin is a better language (9. 24. 3).⁹⁶ To Paetus Cicero does not choose to quote in Greek (though the correspondence docs mention and/or quote from Accius, Pacuvius, Plautus, Sextus Turpilius). The rendering of the Greek quotation into Latin accords with Cicero's usual practice outside the letters. In the letters it is an exception which proves the rule about Aliens. *Ad familiares* 13. 15 does the same. It is one of the series of testimonials that form all but one of the letters of book 13.⁹⁷ This long hook contains three words of Greek, all technical terms. But in letter 15 Cicero quotes extensively from Homer and Euripides. The quotations stand alone with one exception:

(23) et ait posse eundem et "ἄμα πρόσσω καὶ ὀπίσω" [*Iliad* 1. 343; *Od*, 24. 452] uidere.

And says that a man may look 'both to front and rear'.

It seems likely that Cicero, as Shackleton Bailey argues, used this 'new style of letter' (as Cicero explicitly characterizes it) to turn a standard testimonial into a political communication to Caesar.⁹⁸ The uniqueness of the experiment, the 'flagging' of the Greek quotation, shows well enough that the formal commendatory letter did not allow Greek any more than other public-political documents. Greek quotations were easiest in the private domain of *Ad Atticun*.

It occurred to Cicero that he could have switched into Greek for the saying about Lais. This choice of formulating thoughts in different ways lies at the heart of code-switching. It is therefore no surprise to find sequences of code-switches which are generated by a single topic of discussion, i.e. where a run of code-switches is obviously linked to series of related thoughts. The following examples may serve to illustrate this.

(24) 5. 20. 6: recte πεφυσίωμαι: nihil est praeclarius. interim haec λαμπρά; Ariobarzanes opera mea uiuit, regnat; ἐν παρόδῳ consilio et auctoritate **(p.161)** et quod insidiatoribus eius ἀπρόσιτον me, non modo ἀδωροδόκητον, praebui regem regnumque seruaui.

I have a right to a swollen head. It is a fine achievement. Meanwhile here is a scintillation: Ariobarzanes owes his life and throne to me. Just *en passant* I rescued king and kingdom, by good judgement and influence and by showing those who were plotting against him that they could not get near me, much less their money.

(25) 6. 9. 3: intellexi ex tuis litteris te ex Turrano audisse a me provinciam fratri traditam. adeo ego non perspexeram prudentiam litterarum tuarum? ἐπέχειν te scribebas: quid erat dubitatione dignum, si esset quicquam cur placeret fratrem et talem fratrem relinqui? ἀθέτησις ista mihi tua, non ἐποχή uidebatur. monebas de Q. Cicerone puero ut eum quidem neutiquam relinquerem: “τούμὸν ὄνειρον ἐμοί”, eadem omnia quasi collocuti essemus uidimus. non fait faciendum aliter, meque ἐπιχρονία ἐποχή tua dubitatione liberauit.

I gather from your letter that Turranius told you I had handed the province over to my brother. Can you suppose I was so blind to the wisdom of your letters? You wrote that you were ‘suspending judgement’. What ground would there have been for hesitation if there had been anything to be said *for* leaving my brother in charge, and such a brother? Your suspension of judgement looked to me more like outright rejection. You warned me about young Quintus, not to leave him behind on any account. Great minds! We saw exactly eye to eye, as though we had talked it over together. Any other course would have been wrong, and your long-standing suspension of judgement freed me from any hesitation.

(26) 7. 8. 4–5: sic enim existimat, si ille uel dimisso exercitu consul factus sit, σύγχυσιν τῆς πολιτείας fore, atque etiam putat eum, cum audierit contra se diligenter parari, consuiatum hoc anno neglecturum ac potius exercitum provinciamque retenturum; sin autem ille fareret, uehementer hominem contemnebat et suis et rei publicae copiis confidebat. quid quaeris? etsi mihi crebro “ζυνὸς Ἐνυάλιος” occurrebat, tamen leuabar cura uirum fortem et peritum et plurimum auctoritate valentem audiens πολιτικῶς de pacis simulatae periculis disserentem ... [71 words). mihi autem illud molestissimum est, quod solvendi sunt nummi Caesari et instrumentum triumphi eo conferendum; est enim ἄμορφον ἀντιπολιτενομένου χρωφειλέτην esse. sed haec et multa alia coram.

His view is that if Caesar is made consul, even after giving up his army, it will mean the subversion of the constitution; and he further thinks that when Caesar hears that preparations against him are energetically proceeding he will forgo the province. But should Caesar take leave of **(p.162)** his senses, Pompey is quite contemptuous of anything he can do and confident in his own and the Republic’s forces. All in all, though I often thought of ‘Mars on both sides’, I felt relieved as I heard such a man, courageous, experienced, and powerful in prestige, discoursing statesmanwise on the dangers of a false peace.... What irks me the most is that Caesar must be paid the money and the wherewithal for my triumph diverted to that purpose. It does not look well to be in debt to a political opponent. But of this and much else when we are together.

(27) *Ad Quintum* 2. 16 (15). 5: sed heus tu! celari uideor a te. quo modo nam, mi frater, de nostris uersibus Caesar? nam primum librum se legisse scripsit ad me ante, et prima sic ut neget se ne Graeca quidem meliora legisse; reliqua ad quendam locum *ῥα θνμότερα* (hoc enim utitur uerbo).

dic mihi uerum: num aut res eum aut χαρακτήρ non delectat? nihil est quod uereare. ego enim ne pilo quidem minus me amabo. has de re φιλαλήθως et, ut soles [scribere], frateme.

But see here, you seem to be keeping me in the dark. Tell me, my clear fellow, how does Caesar react to my verses? He wrote to me that he read the first canto and has never read anything better than the earlier part, even in Greek, but finds the rest, down to a certain point, a trifle 'languid'. The truth, please! Is it the material or the style he doesn't like? No need for you to be nervous—my self-esteem won't drop a hair's breadth. Just write to me *en ami de la vérité* and in your usual fraternal way.

The last is recognizable as an example of a wider pattern in which Latin literature (and a delicate literature at that) may be discussed in Greek. In (24) Cicero's boasting about his governorship of Cilicia is perhaps palliated, perhaps heightened, by the code-switching. Example (25) seems to show diplomatic language on the part of Atticus regarding Cicero's and his family (Cicero's brother was married to his sister). In (26) the Greek expressions on the subject of Pompey's response to Caesar seem to begin with a code-switch from Pompey. The awkwardness of being indebted to Caesar is undoubtedly the reason for the code-switch at the end.

We can of course go only so far in accounting for code-switches at this 'local' level. We must always bear in mind that we mostly lack the letters Cicero is replying to and have virtually no idea of what oral communication may lie behind the frequency of code-switches in this or that letter.

(p.163) 6. Conclusion

When Cicero writes to Atticus of his brother's appointment as governor of Asia, he gives him three reasons why he should do his 'best to make us universally lauded and loved'. He and his brother, he says, 'have always been eager to shine [*laudis avidissimi*], we both are and are generally reputed outstanding philhellenes [*φιλέλληνες*], and we have incurred unpopularity and enmity in many quarters for our country's sake' (1. 15. 1). This philhellenism—the word is not found elsewhere in Latin literature—is decidedly political: winning a good reputation (*laus*) means winning the approval of those who will be governed by the finest Hellenic principles and thus promoting the interests of the Republic by ensuring provincial stability. It is another example of the 'harnessing' of that idealized Greece to Rome that is central to so many of Cicero's intellectual endeavours.⁹⁹ It is no surprise that Cicero's philhellenism, is expressed through a code-switch.

Why? Cicero had no doubt that Latin and other aspects of Roman culture were at least the equals of the Greek language and Greek civilization. He mastered Greek in order to conquer the cultural high ground with Latin by giving the Romans the best of Greek culture. Cicero's employment of Greek is never a neutral act. His formal compositions in Greek prose and verse were public demonstrations that his peers had 'never read anything better ... even in Greek' ((27) above). He did not want to have to say, as Lucullus once had, that he sprinkled his Greek with 'barbara quaedam et soloeca' in order to 'make his readers more willing to believe that [his history] was written by a Roman' (*Ad Atticum* 1. 19. 10). Rather, Cicero's Roman identity depended on displaying his full command of the language: 'anything of that sort in *my* work [i.e. the Greek history of his consulship] will be unintended and regretted'. He was delighted to inform Atticus that, when he sent Posidonius a copy of the history for improvement, the elderly philosopher had been 'frightened away' by his talent, 'The fact is,' Cicero crowed, 'I have dumbfounded the whole Greek community' (1.21.2). Display of Greek, then, was an important way of signalling the appropriation and subordination of the existing language of high culture. **(p. 164)** Julius Caesar was right when he said of Cicero that 'it was a greater thing to advance the borders of Rome's culture than Rome's empire' (Pliny, *NH* 7. 117). Cicero's code-switching in the letters to Atticus is the expression of this 'imperialist' attitude in an environment where it was not necessary to keep the languages apart, as it was in published work. Code-switching in these letters is an 'unmarked' choice: that is, the overall pattern of switching carries information about Cicero's identity (cf. above, p. 142). Clearly, code-switches may be used to mark certain topics or persons; but in *Ad Atticum* at least they never signal a change in the relationship between Cicero and Atticus.¹⁰⁰ Cicero's code-switching is not testimony of his bilingualism: it is first and foremost a discourse strategy within his Latin. In this regard Myers-Scotton's notion of a 'matrix language' is important. Cicero's matrix language is always Latin, and Greek words and phrases (including quotations) are used in accordance with the predictions of the MLF model. But Cicero does not positively evaluate Greek and Roman identities equally, as is typical in the cases of intrasentential code-switching studied by Myers-Scotton (above, p. 142). Rather, the 'rights and obligations' set he activates puts the Roman first because the prestige Greek identity he is so anxious to claim is something which Roman-Latin culture had now subsumed.

Code-switching is a strategy that is used freely to Atticus only. It seems clear that Atticus' own 'Greek' identity encouraged it. Emotional rapport (cf. above, p. 149) between the men was a second important factor. The letters to Quintus show the same factors (cf. the two brothers as 'philhellenes' above), albeit code-switching occurs here at a far lower rate. A third reason may be advanced: male solidarity. Cicero did not code-switch to Terentia or Tullia (except for the reference to his *χολή ἄκρατον*, above, p. 150). This is interesting because of the well-known passage of Juvenal (6. 187 ff.), where the satirist alleges in the course of an attack on women that,

omnia Graece:

[cum sit turpe magis nostris nescire Latine.]

hoc sermone pauent, hoc iram, gaudia, curas,

190 hoc cuncta effundunt animi secreta. quid ultra?

(p.165)

concumbunt Graece, clones tamen ista puellis,

tune etiam, quam sextus et octogensimus annus

pulsat, adhuc Graece? non est hic ermo pudicus

in uetula. quotiens lascium interuenit illud

190 *ζωή καὶ ψυχή*, modo sub lodice relictis

uteris in turba. quod enim non excitet inguen

uox blaeda et nequam? digitos habet, etc.¹⁰¹

Everything happens in Greek.

In this they express their fears and troubles, their joy and anger; in this they confide their heartfelt secrets; what more can I say? they *couple* in Greek. Wry well one may grant these habits to girls; but you, eroded as you are by a series of eighty-five years, do *you* still use Greek? Such language is simply not decent on an old woman's lips. Whenever that naughty endearment pops out—*Zoê kai psychê*—you are using in public an expression which should be confined to the sheets. What organ tails to be stirred by a coaxing lascivious phrase? it has fingers, etc.

(trans. Rudd)

Here Juvenal indicates two different uses of Greek by women at Rome: for emotional and private life, and for sex. The first part of the passage (11. 187–90) may suggest switching of whole conversations or topics, i.e. intersentential switching, by females; the gender of the addressees is not specified. Here code-switching is evidently an unmarked choice for affective discourse. In the rest of the passage Juvenal turns to female forms of address to males in the context of sex.¹⁰² It is possible that he is here imitating Martial 10. 68, where the poet complains that his true-blue Italian lover uses Greek terms of endearment to him as if she were Lais, the famous courtesan of ancient Corinth.¹⁰³ There is no comparable evidence for female speech in the age of Cicero. A fascinating passage in Lucretius, 4. 1160–9, shows that Greek code-switching was used by some males to talk about their female lovers.¹⁰⁴ None of this is relevant to Cicero's avoidance of code-switching to his wife **(p.166)** and daughter.¹⁰⁵ Rather, if we wish to suggest a reason for this, we should probably look to the role played by Greek identity in the predominantly male realm of higher education and culture.¹⁰⁶

The real difficulty comes when we ask whether other brothers and other friends among Cicero's peers code-switched into Greek in their conversations and letters? The two scholars who have most advanced the study of Latin and Greek bilingualism, Michel Dubuisson and Jorma Kaimio, have put forward quite different views of its extent. For Dubuisson Cicero's Greek shows '[1]'interférence ... c'est-à-dire la confusion inconsciente entre les deux systèmes [i.e. Latin and Greek] et le transfert involontaire au premier d'un élément du second, [qui] suppose nécessairement le bilinguisme du locuteur individuel'. This bilingual Cicero was fully aware of the gaps in the means of expression at his command and turned naturally to his other language to bridge them.¹⁰⁷ His bilingualism is typical.¹⁰⁸ By contrast Kaimio 'would not hesitate to answer in the negative' if asked 'whether the Romans did in fact use Greek in their everyday conversations', and is cautious about generalizing from the evidence.¹⁰⁹ The identification of code-switching as a strategy of monolingual speech production may help to resolve these contrary views. Many educated Romans in the Late Republic (**p.167**) knew Greek well. To Greeks they could speak and write Greek.¹¹⁰ But there is no evidence that they employed Greek to one another in normal intercourse except as code-switching, and here no doubt they kept an eye on the context: inappropriate Greek would incur the ridicule deserved by 'people who force in Greek words' (above, p. 137). It is not possible to estimate Romans' fluency in Greek from this, for a high degree of bilingualism is not necessary to access the identity set which code-switched language advertises. Nor can we know the frequency of code-switching among Cicero's contemporaries, But it would be timid to assume that there were no other brothers and male friends who both attached importance to their ability to demonstrate Greek culture and used code-switched speech as a natural choice. Augustus' letters to his family, as quoted by Suetonius and Gellius, indicate that the evidence of Cicero's letters, especially those to Atticus, may not be too misleading in this regard¹¹¹

Notes:

(1) Cf. p. 140.

(2) Holloway (1994) 112; the text is probably an Etruscan or Roman name rather than a word of Greek.

(3) Kaimio (1979) 301–2 esp. Shipp (1953). Jocelyn (1999) 184 ff. sets out to qualify Shipp by suggesting that Plautine characters' use of (Greek reflects the code-switching of their masters.

(4) 'The authority for whose eloquence is Q. Ennius', *Brutus* 57.

(5) Kotula(1969); Dubuisson (1981*b*), cf. Horsfall (1979).

(6) Raster (1995).

- (7) This is generally considered genuine, but note Dihle (1955).
- (8) Master (1995) 121 on Antonius Gniphio.
- (9) Note also Cicero *fls* at *Ad familiares* 16. 21. 5 (44 BC).
- (10) Cf. esp. *De finibus* 1. 4–10 on the development of philosophy in Latin and the improvements Latin authors can make over their (Greek hypotexts).
- (11) Notably Lucretius 1. 136–9, 832; 3. 260, followed by Seneca the Younger, *Ep.* 58. 1, and Pliny the Younger, *Ep.* 4. 18. 1. On Lucretius see Sedley (1999).
- (12) Borrowings and hum translations: *De finibus* 2, 13 ‘et quidem saepe quaerimus uerbum Latinum par Graeco et quod idem ualeat’—but he adds ‘hic [i.e. *uoluptas* as a translation of ἡδονή] nihil fuit quod quaereremus’, cf. 3, 15 ‘et tauten puto concedi nobis oportere ut Graeco uerbo utamur, si quando minus occurret Latinum’—but Latin loan translations are offered in preference to direct borrowing, 3, 51 Greek terms should be used ‘in hac inopi lingua ... quamquam tu [Cicero] hanc [Latin] copiosiore etiam soles dicere’. The *copia* of Latin in relation to (Greek: esp. *De finibus* 1. 10, *De natura deorum* 1. 8, *Tusc.* 2. 35 ‘(Graeculi illi) cannot distinguish between *dolor* and *labor* (Cicero ‘forgets’ ἄλγος), 3. 11 ‘(Graeci uolunt illi quidem, sed parum ualent uerbo’), *Ad Atticum* 12. 52. 3. Cf. e.g. Powell (1995 *b*) 288–97.
- (13) On the Roman slurs see Petrochilos (1974).
- (14) Cf. *Div.* 2. 5; *De natura deorum* 1. 7–8,
- (15) For ‘equality’ cf. above at n. 5.
- (16) Tyrrell and Purser (1904) 85–7. So e.g. in their translations they employ *ennui* for ἀκηδία, etc. Shackleton Bailey often does the same.
- (17) Font (1894) 41; Steele (1900) 388–9.
- (18) Jocelyn (1973) 64 (but the locus is on classical Greek); Horsfall (1979).
- (19) Cf. similarly Jocelyn (1999) 172, 195 for the Romans’ ‘notion’ that Latin was inadequate for ‘human thinking and feeling’; Dunkel (2000) 127–8 on “‘need-filling’” as the main cause of Cicero’s code-switching,
- (20) See esp. Dubuisson (1992 *b*) 194; further, below, p. 166.
- (21) Fishman (1966; 1971); Labov (1966; 1972).
- (22) Blom and Gumperz (1972) 424–6.

(23) Note Gumperz (1971) for the extension of Fergusonian diglossia to bilingual situations. For code-switching see *inter alios* Heller (1988); Hamors and Blanc (1989) index s.v.; Eastman (1992); Milroy and Muysken (1995 a); Romaine (1995) 120–80; Auer (1998 a); Jacobson (1998); on the work of Myers-Scotton see below.

(24) (Gumperz (1982 a); (1982 b).

(25) The discourse functions of code-switching according to (Gumperz are (1) to report quoted speech, (2) to specify a particular addressee, (3) to carry interjections, tags, proverbs. etc., (4) to reiterate one's message, (5) to qualify one's message, (6) to make personalizing statements vs. objectivizing statements.

(26) Haugen (1959). See also Weinreich's classic 1953 study, treating mixing of languages as deviant from a monolingual perspective. 'Code-mixing' (as it is better called) is indeed a feature of second-language learning—see e.g. Hamors and Blanc (1989) 21–2, 35–6, 148–9, 151–3—as well as of 'mixed languages' resulting from long-term bilingualism (pidgins, Creoles).

(27) That is, study of the language of members of identifiable, stable, social groups. Cf. Gumperz (1982 a) ch. 3.

(28) Gumperz (1982 a) 71.

(29) Grice(1975).

(30) Brown and Levinson (1987).

(31) Myers-Scotton (1993 a); (1993 b).

(32) Giacalone Ramat (1995) 54–6; Romaine (1995) 144–9; Bentahila and Davies (1998), who remark that 'such variables as discourse dominance, proficiency, prior in, usage patterns, and symbolic value' account for the superiority of one language over another in situations where the switching itself is finely balanced (49).

(33) Cf. the use of Greek inflectional affixes (e.g. below, p. 156, on *Piraeëa*). The humorous formation *facteon* (below, p. 155) is significant but unique.

(34) This explanation is not required for set phrases, idioms, and tags taken from the embedded language.

(35) So in the classic studies of Haugen (1953) and Weinreich (1953) 47–62. Cf. above, p. 138, on the traditional explanation for Cicero's use of Greek.

(36) See e.g. Mougeon and Beniak (1991).

(37) Cf. e.g. Gardner-Chloros (1995),

(38) e.g. Adams (1977).

(39) Cf. Meeuwis and Blommaert (1994),

(40) See Thompson in Bourdieu (1991) 19–20 and Bourdieu's chs. 1, 2, and 6; cf. e.g. Gal (1988).

(41) Cf. Brown and Gilman (1989); McClure (1998); Myers-Scotton (1998) pt. II. Serious sociolinguistic study of Graeco-Roman texts is still uncommon: see e.g. Wenskus (1998); Dickey (1996)

(42) Romaine (1982) 121 ff.

(43) Labov (1972).

(44) Cf. Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) i. 39–60. Cf. above, p. 136, on the public letter to Quintus.

(45) Olson (1994) ch.5.

(46) Cf. below, pp. 155 ff., on the problems of semi-nativized tortus of (Greek words which retain (Greek morphology, further pp. 157–8 on possible limitation of the effects of code-switching by writing Greek in Roman script. In discussing Cicero's practice I have followed Shackleton Bailey's judgement as to when he used (Greekscript to write Greek,

(47) Rose (1921) 114; see also Steele (1900); Shackleton Bailey (1962); (1963); (1965–70) vii. 59–62 (Index Verborum Graecorum), 73–82 (Index Graecitatis); Albrecht (1973) 1274–5.

(48) See the near-complete word-list in Rose (1921). Note Frei-Korstmsky (1969) on late Greek words known from Latin (cf. pp. 1–2 on Cicero, and *alibi*).

(49) Rose (1921) 114–15. Cicero uses *πάντα* twice (*Ad Atticum* 6. 5. 2; *Ad familiares* 15. 17. 1).

(50) Rose cites (6. 5. 2, but means (6. 4. 3. However, Shackleton Bailey reads *τοῦ το δὴ περισκεψάμενος* (rather than *εἰς τοῦ το*), which is classical (where the verb in any case takes the accusative, not the dative),

(51) Cf. Romaine (1995) 177–9 citing Klein (1980) on realignment of tenses by bilingual speakers of typologically similar languages. Note also Dunkel (2000) 126–7 for other possible examples of interference from Latin (but exclamatory accusatives such as *Ad Atticum* 6. 1. 18 'Ο ἀνιτορησίαν turpern!' show Myers-Scotton's system morpheme principle).

(52) Cf. his own characterization at *Ad familiares* 9. 21. 1 ('plebeio sermone', 'cottidianis verbis').

(53) For which see Palm (1955).

(54) I exclude the long passages of (Greeck at *Ad Atticum* 6. 4 and 5 (see below, p. 154) and the list of rhetorical subjects at 9. 4.

(55) Translations from the letters are those of Shackleton Bailey.

(56) See Raubitschek (1949) 102.

(57) On Atticus in Athens see Habicht (1997) 328–30. Cf. in general on Atticus and Cicero Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) i. 3–59.

(58) However, it was not till 50 BC that Cicero was prepared to use the *cognomen* 'Atticus' in direct address; in *Ad Atticum* 1–5 it occurs only in the third person: Adams (1978) 159–(60. Cf. the dig at the name in 15. 1a. 2 'uereor ne cognomine tuo lapsus ὑπεραττικὸς sis in iudicando'.

(59) Cf. *Ad Atticum* 4. 1 on Atticus' Greek poetry.

(60) Cf. Steele (1900) 390.

(61) There are 16 switches in 2½ pages of Shackleton Bailey's Cambridge text.

(62) *Ad familiares* 5. 4, 14. 1–4; *Ad Quintum* 1. 3, 4.

(63) Approximately from May 51 to Dec. 50. But the letters to his friends at this time, from June 51 (*Ad familiares* 13. 1 from Athens) to Nov. 50 (16. 9 from Brundisium), show very little switching, as is normal in these (cf. below in text). (The one exception is 7. 32 to P. Volumnius Eutrapelus, where the code-switching plays on the εὐτραπεία from which the witty knight presumably derived his *cognomen*.)

(64) 14, 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24; 15. 15. Cf. 8. 17 (from Caelius), 9. 9 (from Dolabella).

(65) There is code-switching in 12. 12 of 16 Mar. (partly with reference to Tullia). (The extraordinary letter of recommendation, *Ad familiares* 13. 15, which contains several code-switched quotations, probably belongs to the late spring or early summer rather than to Mar.; on it see below, p. 160),

(66) The medical usage reflects Greek's position as the language of medicine at Rome. Cf. Langslow above, p. 38. On women and code-switching see further below, pp. 164–6.

(67) Note the medical terminology at 16. 18. 1 *πέψιν, ἀκοπίαν, περίπατον* σύμμετρον, *τρώβριν, εὐλυσίαν κοιλίας*. Other Greek: 16. 4. 1; 17. 1; 23. 1, 2.

(68) Cf. Baldwin (1992).

(69) Cf. *Ad Atticum* 4. 6. 3, where Cicero tells Atticus to retrieve this ‘very pretty piece’.

(70) There is a little Greek with a philosophical tinge in the correspondence to and from Cassius at *Ad familiares* 15. 16–19—but this simply reinforces the point.

(71) References are to *Ad Atticum* unless otherwise stated.

(72) Cf. *Ad Quintum* 15b. 3.

(73) On the ‘quotations’, see at nn. 92–8, esp. n. 94.

(74) Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) vi. 214.

(75) The use of Greek *cognomina* by fourteen Roman noble Republican families is an unconnected and indeed ‘fairly insignificant’ matter: Kaimio (1979) 182–3. But the habitual use of Greek-style names for slaves may be comparable where the name implies inferiority; and cf. above, n. 63, on the witty *cognomen* of the witty knight, P. Volumnius.

(76) Cf. e.g. ‘Paris’, ‘Menelaus’, and ‘Agamemnon’ at *Ad Atticum* 1. 18. 3, ‘Ligurian Momus’ at 5. 20. 6, and see below, n. 105. on Clodia.

(77) ‘Found as an official title in Egyptian inscriptions’—and elsewhere: see LSJ⁹ suppl.² s.v.—‘C. no doubt chose the term because it sounded oriental and imposing’ (Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) i. 386, comparing Juvenal 1. 130).

(78) Both names may have been known from some form of comedy, like ‘Stratylax ille’ (‘our Galloping Major’) used of Antony at 16. 15. 3.

(79) The pun is made again at 6. 9. 1 *τὴν τοῦ φυρατοῦ φιλοτιμίαν* (‘the *philotimy* of the Chef), where the sense of *φυρατής* (literally ‘mixer’, ‘kneader’) is perhaps current slang from the boards.

(80) For the spelling *bini* cf. e.g. *Myllasis, Alabandis* at n. 91, *traulizi* at n. 104, and *laecasin* (*λαϊκάζειν*) at Petronius 42. 2 ‘*frigori laecasin dico*’,

(81) *LL* 10. 70 ‘*quod aduenticia pleraque habemus Graeeae, seutum ut de nothis* [i.e. Greek borrowings] *Graecanicos quoque nominatus plurimos haberemus*’. Varro offers advice at 10. 71 on how far one should go in preserving the Greekness of Greek borrowings (his examples are all proper nouns).

(82) Cf. Mougeon and Beniak (1989) 305–7.

(83) Myers-Scotton (1990).

(84) *Ad familiares* 11. 27. 5 (to C. Matius); *Ad Atticum* 1. 16. 13; 2. 5. 2, 12. 4, 13. 2; 7. S. 3; 13. 20. 4; 15. 13a. 2. The remaining example is at the start of *oratore* (1. 9).

(85) 1. 19. 10 (*ἱστορικά*); 6. J. 8 (*ἱστορικόν*), 2. 3 (*ἱστορικώτατος*); 13. 10, 1 (*ἱστορίαν*). Latin *historia* occurs eleven times in *Ad Atticum*.

(86) *De oratore* 3. 109. Caelius uses it at *Ad familiares* 8.1.4 of Cicero's *De re publica*.

(87) Cf. *De jinibus* 4. 5 'eum locum, quern ciuilem recte appellaturi uidemur, Graeci

πολιτικόν'.

(88) To be precise, 26 out of 31 occurrences. Cicero also uses *πολίτευμα*, *πολίτεύεσθαι*, and *πολιτεία*.

(89) Oksala (1953) 90–109.

(90) Gardner-Chloros (1987) 102,

(91) Cf. n. 63. Contrast *Ad Atticum* 6. 2. 3 "Phliasios" autem dici sciebam ... sed prime me *ἀναλογία* deceperat, *φλιοῦ s*, *Ὅπο ῶ s*, *Σιποῦ s*, *quod* *Ὀπύντιοι*, *Σιπούντιοι*; sed hoc continue correximus' (a grammatical context).

(92) cf. Wenskus (1093).

(93) Aesthetic reasons are certain!} also at work in the selection of some Greek quotations, as Hutchinson (1998) 13–16 well observes, but they are not adequate on their own. Jocelyn (1973) 70 is surely right to say that the 70 or so quotations of classical Greek poetry in the letters 'need not ... imply the deep knowledge of the original poems, which enthusiasts often claim for him'. This reinforces the suggestion that quotations should be viewed as code-switches.

(94) Comic fragments themselves according to Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) v. 397; inspired by corned}, possibly contemporary, might be a safer judgement.

(95) 9. 16. 4 (Shackleton Bailey 1977: 27 prints *apophthegmatorum*), 18. 3, 20. 2, 21. I, 22. 4. 24. 3, 25. 1 (*Ἰαῖδείαν κύρου*), 26. 1.

(96) 'sapientius nostri quam Graeci; illi "*συμπόσια*" aut "*σύνδειπνα*", id est conipntationes aut concenationes, nos 'conuiuia', quod tum maxime simul uiuitur.' Cf. *De senectute* 45 (without the Greek terms).

(97) Which is often thought to represent a collection prepared by Cicero himself: Shackleton Bailey (1965–70) i, 59.

(98) Shackleton Bailey (1977) ii. 458.

(99) Cf. and contrast Varro, *De re ntstica* 3, 10. 1 ‘philograeci’ (also unique) of Romans who imitate the luxurious, non-ideal Greece.

(100) *For* code-switches in the wrong context, i.e. a marked usage, see above, p. 160, on *Ad familiar* 13. 15, and cf. e.g. Antony’s ‘α ζηλοτυπία mea’ (‘from jealousy on my part’) in the ‘disagreeable epistle’ from him which Cicero forwarded to Atticus as *Ad Atticum* 10. 8a (Greek was out of place in the formal, political context of a letter like this).

(101) Cf. 6. 123, Messalina as a prostitute under the name ‘Lycisca’.

(102) Cf. Dickey (1996)—though the topic of sexual address is omitted from this study.

(103) Cf. 1. 5 ‘κύριέ μου μέλι μου ψνχή μου congeris usque’. The Juvenal and -Martial passages do not permit us to speak of ‘the special function of Greek as the language of the bedroom among the Romans’ (Kaimio 1979:192. in the course of an otherwise very sensible discussion).

(104) ‘nigra melichrusest; inmundaet foetida acosmos; | caesia Palladium; neruosa et lignea dorcas | paruula pumilio. Chariton mia, tota merum sal; | magna atque inmanis cataplexis plenaque honoris; | balba loqui non quit—traulizi; muta pudens est; | at flagrans odiosa loquacula Lampadium fit; | isehnon eromenion tum fit. cum uiuere non quit | prae macie; rhadine uerost iam mortua tussi; | at turnida et mammosa Ceres est ipsa ab laccho; | sitnula Silena ae Saturast; labeosa philema.’ Note that Lucretius, who is consciously translating Greek culture into Latin, avoids Creek script (at least there is no evidence to suggest that the Greek words were written in Greek, though a number of scholars, e.g. Jocelyn (1999) 181–3, have thought they should be).

(105) But with Lucretius in mind we may recall the characterization of Clodia at the trial of Caelius Rufus as a creature from Greek mythology—‘Palatinam Medeam’, ‘quadrantaria Clytemnestra’: see Austin (1960) 69, 124, The mythological mud-slinging between Caelius and his opponent, Atratinus, is comparable (Austin 690); but the Lucretius passage suggests that the mythological references assist the gendered targetting of Clodia. It is worth noting again that Greek proper names can function as code-switches: above, p. 153, on Sampsiceramus.

(106) Augustus uses a number of code-switches to Livia in Suetonius' extracts from letters about the young Claudius (*D. Cl.* 4). This is due in part to the medical/ paramedical background to the case, in part perhaps to the somewhat different status of Greek culture in Augustan Rome. See n. 111.

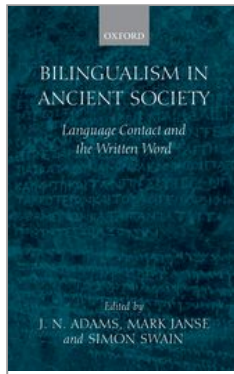
(107) Dubuisson (1992 *b*) 194.

(108) Dubuisson (1980): Caesar's words to Brutus at the moment of the assassination were in Greek because that was the language in which the men regularly conversed,

(109) Kaimio (1970) 193; though cf. above, n. 103. on Greek between the sheets.

(110) Cf. e.g. Plutarch, *Cicero* 24. 9, for Cicero's 'Greek [epistles]' (if ἑλληνικαί='in Greek').

(111) Suetonius, *Tib.* 21, cf. *D. A.* 92. 2, *D. Cl.* 4 (with n. 106 above); Gellius 15. 7. 3. For Augustas himself cf, further *D. A.* 25. 4, 65. 4, 70. 1, 72. 2 (*technyphion*), 98. 4, 99. 1, 99.2. Cf. Wenskus (1998) 31–5. It should be noted, however, that the establishment of a Roman canon of prose and verse authors after Cicero made the appropriation of a Greek identity relatively less urgent for Augustus' generation (Augustus himself, according to Suetonius, could not speak or write Greek properly: *D. A.* 89. 1–2). For this and other reasons it is difficult to seek precise analogies between the function of code-switching in the particular cultural situation of the Late Republic and that of later periods. Augustus' easy blend of Greek and Roman, as we see it in his beautification of the city, is another world altogether.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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From Contact to Mixture: Bilingual Inscriptions from Italy

MARTTI LEIWO

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Abstract and Keywords

Speakers of Greek and Latin were in contact for several hundred years. This chapter proposes a typology for distinct language contact features in the light of epigraphy, and discusses Latin-Greek contact in Italy through the language transmitted by Christian and Jewish speech communities from the third to the sixth century AD. Two distinct conceptions should be kept in mind: languages in contact and contact languages. When languages are in contact, the contact may create linguistic change and even structural similarity in the course of time. The chapter examines what kind of contact situations can be seen in the epigraphic evidence, for example, whether the features of linguistic mixture are caused by bilingual code-switching.

Keywords: bilingualism, Greek, Latin, Italy, language contact, code-switching, Christian speech communities, Jewish speech communities, epigraphy, linguistic mixture

1. Introduction

SPEAKERS of Greek and Latin were in contact for several centuries. I shall propose a typology for distinct contact features in the light of epigraphy, and I shall also discuss Latin-Greek contact in Italy through the language transmitted to us by Christian and Jewish communities from the third to the sixth century AD.

Two distinct conceptions should be kept in mind: languages in contact and contact languages. When languages are in contact, the contact may create linguistic change and even structural similarity in the course of time. A good example of the latter is the so-called Balkan *Sprachbund*. Linguistic contact has affected, for instance, the Baltic area as well. On the other hand, the most typical contact languages are Creoles and pidgins. There are several definitions of pidgin languages, and I shall not discuss them here.¹ In her recent book Thomason states that a multilingual situation has been considered a typical or even an absolute condition for the evolution of a pidgin or Creole, but pidgins have arisen in two-language contact situations as well. In a two-language situation the lexifier-language speakers deliberately withhold their full language from outsiders, and use instead a simplified foreign-talk variety. From this variety the pidgin then arises (Thomason 1997 a; 5). When a pidgin language acquires native speakers it is nativized, and becomes a **(p.169)** Creole language. An example of this is Tok Pisin in Papua New Guinea.

A bilingual code-switching, on the other hand, may create a mixed code, which is not called a pidgin. The process may go like this: bilingual code-switching can take place on various occasions in bilingual speech communities, but its use is not due to a lack of understanding, as is the case with pidgins, because the speakers are bilingual. One instance will be enough here. It is from the extremely interesting book of Sarhimaa (1999: 275), and is an example of Karelian-Russian (*italics*) code-switching:

(1)	Mania <i>dolžen</i> ottoo avaimet
	Mother obliged to-take keys
	Mother must take the keys.

A bilingual mixed code is sometimes the result of continuous code-switching. It may arise, when languages continue to mix, and code-switching may lose its discourse-related function.² Auer has argued that there is a continuum from code-switching to a mixed code through five phases, but his model is still under construction (Auer 1998 b: 16; Sarhimaa 1999: 312–14). It seems, however, that when speakers are unable to speak a variety in an unmixed form, or a mixed variety is chosen intentionally, a bilingual mixture may become an in-group variety as well.

In the present study the basic question is: what kind of contact situations can be seen in the epigraphic evidence? (r) Are the features of mixture caused by bilingual code-switching? Is it, for instance, possible to find traces (2) of language shift among speakers of Christian and Jewish communities, or (3) of a mixed in-group variety created by Latin- and Greek-speaking bilinguals?³ To obtain plausible results, the material has to pertain to such communities as can be defined by some ethnic, social, or cultural factor.⁴ They are usually referred to as speech communities. On this occasion I **(p.170)** would like to introduce a new term 'epigraphic community', which is a conceptual loan taken from 'speech community'. By 'epigraphic community' I mean a community which is attested through inscriptions which share some linguistic idiosyncrasies typical of the speech community in question: for example, Christian and Jewish catacombs in Rome share typical characteristics. However, before tackling the subject in detail some methodological and theoretical considerations need to be raised.

There are two different kinds of contact situations (Weinreich 1953: 11-12). It seems that it is essential to distinguish between borrowing (in situations of language maintenance) and interference (through language shift). Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 37-41, 50; also Thomason 1997 *b*) have argued that these forms of contact differ in their linguistic results, and this may be of some use in analysing the epigraphic data as well. Written text always needs more planning than speech, and if there are deviations from the most general epigraphic varieties and formulae, a careful study of all details is needed.⁵ Writing on stone also means that it is difficult to correct lapses and errors, which may produce strange but unintentional forms. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) have discussed various different kinds of language contacts in their analysis of contact-induced linguistic change. However, it seems that in reality situations can be even more complicated than those discussed by them (1988: 37 ff.). For example, substratum interference may affect individuals without affecting the community as a whole, and the distinction between code-switching, code-mixing/interference, and borrowing is complicated.

A lot of borrowing, some code-switching, and code-mixing/interference can be found in Greek or Latin inscriptions and texts, but the evidence of interference may be of a transitory nature. In a bilingual speech community code-switching is ubiquitous, but its patterns are very complex (for general discussion, see Myers-Scotton 1993*b*; Milroy and Muysken 1995 *a*; Auer 1998 *b*; and Sarhimaa 1999). The ability of individual speakers to modify the relative amount and type of their switching in different situations is a mirror of their bilingual skills, but the relation is not one-to-one. Sarhimaa's Karelian-Russian data suggest that Karelian speakers use the **(p.171)** Russian-influenced codes in the same way as monolingual speakers use stylistic or register variation (Sarhimaa 1999: 313).

According to Thoniason and Kaufman, borrowing is the incorporation of foreign elements into the speaker's native language, whereas interference through shift—or substratum interference⁶—is a type of change that results from imperfect learning during a process of language shift (Thoniason and Kaufman 1988: 21, 38). A speaker shifting to a target language (TL) fails to learn the TL perfectly, and makes mistakes. The errors made by members of the shifting group in speaking the TL then may spread to the TL as a whole when they are imitated by original speakers of that language (Thoniason and Kaufman 1988: 39).

Therefore, as Thomason and Kaufman claim, imperfect learning does not begin with vocabulary, but with the sounds and syntax which are imitated by the TL speakers. However, in morphologically complex languages like Finnish, imperfect learning produces strange morphological forms as well. This can even create new vocabulary, as these morphologically incorrect forms are imitated by native speakers, and thus produce words which are derived from incorrect inflection. Another general element in this kind of shift is the native-language vocabulary for things which do not have words in the TL, such as animals, plants, religious or other technical terms, etc. A caveat is, however, in order. Although these generalizations may have some plausibility, they are not meant to be axiomatic.

The synthesis of Thomason and Kaufman is useful, as it provides a framework within which a diachronic linguistic analysis of contact-induced change can be constructed. However, contact situations are complicated, and resist generalizing explanations. It is difficult to decide which linguistic element derives from contact and which originates from internal causes. Sometimes the two conspire to produce the same result.⁷

Two different types of bilingual behaviour may be briefly mentioned.⁸ **(p.172)** Complementary bilingualism is a term used by Dabéne and Moore (1995) when elements from two languages in contact are used to compensate for insufficient mastery of either code. On the other hand, functional bilingualism seems to be a suitable term for bilingualism where elements of two languages are used for stylistic or pragmatic reasons almost in the same way as monolingual speakers use different social registers or styles (cf. Sarhimaa 1999: 313). The Swedish-speaking population of present-day Helsinki speaks a very rich language full of different types of code-switching. The most common way is to integrate Finnish stems into Swedish morphology and syntax. For example (Saari 1989: 202–3) (Finnish in *italics*):

(2) Nu <i>höpött</i> -är han igen sin-a ganil-a <i>juttu</i> -n.
Now babble he again of-him old-flic story-the
Now he's babbling once again his old stories.

In colloquial Swedish; 'Nu <i>bablar</i> han igen sina gamla <i>historier</i> .'
(3) när dom börja <i>selittä</i> något åt mej så
When they began to-explain something to me so
<i>tajua</i> ja ju int någo
understood I really not anything
When they began to explain something to me, I didn't understand
anything.
In colloquial Swedish: 'När dom börja <i>förklara</i> något åt mej <i>såförstod</i>
ja ju int någo.'

It seems that both complementary and functional bilingualism, are found in Greek and Latin literary texts, inscriptions, and papyri. The most typical code-switching apart from nonces seems to be intersentential. Exclamatory expressions or tags in another code are customary as well, but on the whole there are various different elements of contact.

2. Greek and Latin Contacts

Several features of Greek and Latin contact can be detected from inscriptions, but a basic typology of these features has not yet been constructed, although this would be of use in analysing the nature **(p.173)** of contact in different epigraphic communities. Due to the conservative and otherwise problematic nature of epigraphy in general, inscriptions do not necessarily reflect the actual spoken patterns in a given speech community. It is, however, possible to draw at least some conclusions regarding the underlying bilingual community (Leiwo 1994: 49 ff.; 1995). The following features of contact can at least be detected from inscriptions, and the following typology suggested. I also propose some symbols which may be used to classify characteristic language:⁹

(A) Inscriptions which have the same text written in two languages (**L/G** or **G/L**).¹⁰

(B) Inscriptions which have two different texts of which the subject-matter is nearly the same (**L|G** or **G|L**).

(C) Inscriptions which have two clearly different texts (e.g. a funerary inscription + an epigram) written in different languages. Intersentential switch. (**L+G** or **G+L**).

(D) Inscriptions which have two clearly different segments written in different languages. Intra- or intersentential code-switching (**L-G** or **G-L**).

(E) Latin in Greek characters or Greek in Latin characters (**Lg** or **Gl**).

(F) Morphological code-mixing, i.e. isolated foreign grammatical elements in an otherwise Latin or Greek text. (**LGmorph** or **GLmorph**).

(G) Phonological code-mixing, i.e. isolated foreign phonological elements in an otherwise Latin or Greek text (**LGphon** or **GLphon**).

(H) Graphic and orthographic code-mixing, i.e. isolated foreign graphic elements (letters or symbols) or wrong orthographic distribution in an otherwise Latin or Greek text (**LGgraph** or **GLgraph**).

(I) onces and tag-switches (**LGlex** or **GLlex**).

(J) Translation and transference. Words of the source language (SL) are translated to form new, but not typical, words in TL, (**p.174**) as, for example, *gaudiuigens* (see Leiwo 1994: 130–1) (**LGtrans** or **GLtrans**).

(K) An abbreviated formula from another language (**Lf** or **Gf**).

After this preliminary typology, which certainly needs further elaboration, everything is problematic. The question which immediately comes to mind is: what do these features tell us about the actual speech community? I would like to distinguish three different kinds of texts which are ‘bilingual’ in the sense that two different languages are used. In the first two (cf. my A and B below) the subject-matter belongs to the sphere of translation theory, while the third category is more sociolinguistic (cf. my C and D below). I give some examples:

A. Texts that have exactly the same information in both languages. These are usually verbatim translations, and they do not tell us much about the nature of bilingualism in a given speech community, or about the geographical area the texts are linked to. However, the texts may provide other interesting information. For example, *CIL* vi 1342= *ILS* 2930=Ameling (1983) no. 144 (a marble column) (**G/L**):

(4) Ἀννία Πήγυλλα Ἡρώδων γυνή, τὸ φ[*Math Processing Error*]ς τῇς οἰκίας τίνος τα[*Math Processing Error*]τα τὰ Χωρία γέγοναν Annia Regilla Hirodis uxor lumen domus cuius haec praedia fuerunt.
Annia Regilla, wife of Herodes, light of the house, to whom this estate belonged.

An interesting feature in example (4) is the representation of the Greek eta in the Latin version (*Regilla*, *Hirodis*), Πήγυλλα is the conventional way of writing Regilla¹¹ (cf. *also fecit*, which, as far as I know, is always written φηκίτ when Greek letters are used: it may be a sign of a type of normative writing which was taught in schools), but apart from this example Herodes is never written with <I> in *CIL* vi. This is easy to understand, as other Greek onomastic models such as Herakles/Hercules were so familiar that confusion between <E> and <I> rarely appeared in similar names in spite of the pronunciation. Therefore, the itacism in *Hirodis* is unexpected.

(p.175) The inscription (and others of this kind) was set up by Herodes Atticus after his wife's death to commemorate her and perhaps to dispel doubts that he had killed her.¹² The itacism informs us that the person who wrote the text had difficulty in transferring the Greek eta into Latin (*Ρήγιλλα* = Regilla where eta = /e:/, *Ἡρώδου* = Hirodis, eta = /i:/),¹³ although Herodes was usually spelt correctly in Latin. The text, or at least part of it (e.g. τὸ φ[*Math Processing Error*]ς τῇς οἰκίας), may have been planned by Herodes himself, since other texts of this kind have been found (e.g. Ameling 1983: ii no. 147 = *IG* iii. 1417). Eck has shown that senators could themselves plan the texts to promote their own interests, and then give them to cutters and scribes (see Eck 1995: 217 ff.). However, the style here is rather clumsy, and one would expect more refined Greek if it were composed by Herodes. In this case it seems more plausible that the writer was a Latin speaker with a command of colloquial Greek. Otherwise, the text is typical of the period. The third-person plural γίγοναν is a very common variant in Greek after c. 200 BC (Schwyzer 1939: i. 666; Gignac 1981 ii. 354–5). The use of τίνοϛ = *cuius* may be an example of Latin interference; however, the interrogative τίς is sometimes used as a relative pronoun. Latin interference seems to be clear in e.g. *IG* xiv. 1560 (Rome) τίς ἔζησεν ἔτη β', μ [*Math Processing Error*] (νας)ιὰ, ἡ(μέρα)ς ι' 'who lived two years, eleven months, ten days', but τίς is used both as a relative and an interrogative pronoun in *BGU* iii. 822 (Fayum, third century ad) εὔρον γεοργόν, τίς (rel) αὐτὰ [τὰ σιτικά] ἐλκνση, ἀλλά τὰ σπέρματα τίς (int) διδοῖ 'I found a husbandman who will take them away, but who will give the seed?' Thus the variant is attested in Greek-speaking Fayum as well. Moreover, there are some early examples which show that the merger of interrogative and relative pronoun was possible in Greek (Mayser 1926: 79–80; LSJ s.v. τίς). This shows that the structure may be native, although it was never very common: there are in fact no examples in the New Testament (Radermacher 1911: 62). Since this phenomenon is attested before the Roman period, the most we can say is that contact with Latin may have made it more popular.

B. Texts which have almost the same information in both languages. In such cases cultural distinctions in language use are observed by **(p.176)** the writer of the text (cf. Cresci Marrone 1976: 315–30).¹⁴ It is possible that there is little or no bilingualism in these communities, as the texts are usually public honorary inscriptions, which do not reflect the actual language of a speech community. Instead, these texts reveal epigraphic idiosyncrasies of Roman and Greek administration, customs, and official language in general, and thus the choice of language is almost entirely socio-political. If the text is of a more private character, it may reflect individual bilingualism. The information which the person who set up the inscription chooses to give in two different languages may reveal important cultural distinctions.¹⁵ This information may be given according to the Roman or Greek epigraphic tradition. For example, *CIL* vi 732 = *IGUR* i. 179 (**L|G**):

(5) Soli Inuicto Mithrae T. Flavius Aug. lib. Hyginus Ephebianus d(ono)
d(edit)

Ἡ ἡίῳι Μίθραι Τ. Φλάονιος Ὑγε[*Math Processing Error*]νος διάτ
Λολλίου Ῥούφον πατρός ιδίου.

To the invincible Sun Mithras, Titus Flavius Hyginus Ephebianus,
freedman of the Emperor, gave as a gift.

To the Sun Mithras, Titus Flavius Hyginus for his own father Lollius
Rufus.

The Latin and Greek texts have slightly different information. The Latin expression *dono dedit* does not belong to the Greek epigraphic tradition, and is omitted. The social standing of the dedicator is expressed differently as well. Moretti claims that πατήρ should be connected with Mithraic religion. This is a possibility, as *pater* was a concept used in the Mithraic cult practice (*TLL* s.v. col. 681). He believes that Lollius Rufus, a freedman or a freeborn Roman citizen, is very unlikely to be the father of I Hyginus. Theoretically, however, he could have been the father of Hyginus Ephebianus, if he was a former slave. The text πατρός ιδίου 'his own father' (**p.177**) strongly suggests that he was a real father, not an office-holder in the Mithraic cult. Hyginus Ephebianus had previously been a slave of a certain Ephebus, and therefore has the *agnomen* Ephebianus (Solin 1982 b: 1362), which is not mentioned in the Greek text. He was at some point transmitted to the imperial house, and later manumitted. If the full name of the slave's owner had been Lollius Ephebus, a Lollius Rufus could be the father of T. Flavius Hyginus Ephebianus. Another slave of Ephebus was working in the imperial palace as well, T. Flavius Epaphroditus Eph[e]bianus, *Aug (usti) lib (ertus) a rationibus* (*CIL* vi. 33468). The date does not rule out a common patron.

C. The third category includes texts which have completely different information in both languages. The reasons for the code-switching are usually sociolinguistic as the languages used have different functional distributions. The most frequent inscriptions in this category are those which have a simple Latin funerary text combined with a Greek epigram. These may reflect a genre diglossia of some sort with low (L) and high (H) genre varieties. In most cases the Greek epigram seems to be the H variety (Leiwo 1994; 1995). Apart from my examples from Naples (Leiwo 1994: 127–30), we may recollect *CIL* vi. 509 and 20548.

D. An Example of texts which have intersentential code-switching is *CIL* vi. 20201 = *IGUR* 618 (**L-G**):

(6) C. Iulio Aug. I. Phoebio Rufionino Cestus de suo fecit | τούς ἀγαθούς
καί θάνοντας εὐεργετεῖν δεῖ.

Cestus made at his own expense to Gaius Iulius Phoebus Rufioninus,
freedman of the Emperor | *Good has to be done to the virtuous and the
dead.*

This is also called code-mixing (Appel and Muysken 1987: 118), but I prefer to call it code-switching as well, since a mixed code more appropriately describes a situation where the structures are not kept separate (Auer 1998 *b*; Sarhimaa 1999). The inscription represents a rather common type, where L₂ is a kind of incorporated aphorism or gnomic expression. This is a typical way of making a code-switch in inscriptions, but no thorough study of the phenomenon has been made. Compare a current colloquial Swedish–Finnish intrasentential code-switching with a lexicalized phrase from the other language (Saari 1989: 98):

(p.178)

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (7) | De kom också så där ganska <i>yks kaks yllättäen</i> |
| | They came also like rather one two suddenly |
| | They also came a11 of a sudden. |

An example of my category **E** is *CIL* vi. 22176 = *IGUR* 774 (Lg):

- | | |
|-----|--|
| (8) | <i>Μαριτα Ασια Κνιντω Μαριτω Λονγω Κοιογι βενεμερεντι]φηκιτ</i> |
| | Marita Asia made for her well-deserving husband Quintus Maritus |
| | Longus. |

I assume that the most obvious reason for this kind of text is that the stonecutter did not know other characters. The person who wanted to set up the inscription did not know the difference between Greek and Roman characters, and chose someone who could write a little and was cheap. On the other hand, if a person carved or scratched the text him/herself, the most probable reason for the ‘wrong’ characters is that he or she did not know any others. Sometimes a joke is not excluded, but I believe that the choice of foreign letters has nothing to do with ‘ideological Greekness’, as has sometimes been suggested (Kajanto 1980: 96).

Examples of other categories follow below in connection with the data from Venusia.

I prefer to make a clear distinction between graphic and linguistic representations of foreign features. Phonological, morphological, and syntactic features should be kept separate from each other and from simple graphic variation, although it is not always possible to make any distinctions at all, owing to the nature of a given text. Simple abbreviations are seldom an indication of individual bilingualism. If an abbreviated formula, such as *D (is)M (anibns)*, is pre-cut in the stone, and if it is the only feature from the other language, it may have nothing to do with bilingualism: the stone was available and used by a monolingual person without any bilingual intent. On the other hand, a formula such as *l (ocits)d (atus) d (eatrionum)d (ecreto)* could be added to an otherwise Greek decree (*IG* xiv. 757 = *CIL* x. 1489; see Leiwo 1994: 135). I believe that this was regarded as a kind of siglum which was not translated. Some stonecutters may have pre-cut abbreviated formulae in two languages to offer good service to speakers of both (cf. the famous bilingual advertisement of a stonecutter *CIL* x. 7296 = *IG* xiv. 297, from Sicily). All in all, a category for abbreviated formulae is appropriate, since there are inscriptions which exhibit them, (**Lf**, **Gf**).

(p.179) It has to be emphasized that when genetically close languages are in contact, it is not easy to distinguish intrinsic historical development and contact-induced change, nor, on the other hand, is it easy to see the difference between these two factors and bilingual code-mixing. The funerary inscriptions of the Christian and Jewish communities in Italy offer interesting data.

3. Christian and Jewish Epigraphic Communities

Two collections of inscriptions can be studied which with good will may be taken as representations of in-group communities, namely Christians and Jews.¹⁶ Early Christians may be regarded as a kind of in-group community since they were few in number, and recognized a subjective belief in their common religion, if not origin, which is reflected in their use of stereotype formulae and ideograms in their funerary inscriptions (see n, 4). With time they naturally ceased to be an in-group. The total number of published Christian inscriptions from Rome is approximately 25,500, Of these, only 9 per cent were written in Greek and 91 per cent in Latin (Rutgers 1995: 183). The corpus of Jewish inscriptions from Rome totals c.595, of which 79 per cent are Greek (Rutgers 1995: 176, 183), Chronologically, the inscriptions are not complementary. The corpus of Jewish inscriptions covers mostly the third and fourth centuries (see Noy 1997: 301), and the corpus of Christian inscriptions (*ICUR*) ranges from the third to the seventh century. Felle has come to the conclusion that the major 'bilingual' variation (*compresenza greco o latino*) in the inscriptions can be dated to the fourth century (43.7 per cent out of a total of 1,152 Christian Greek inscriptions), the third century being almost on the same level (39 per cent of 1,590). At the same time, the number of Greek Christian inscriptions decreases from 41.2 per cent of the total data in the third century to 29.8 per cent in the fourth century, and to approximately 1 per cent in the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries (Felle 1997: 669–70; see also Rutgers 1995: 183). The data seem to suggest that Greek-speaking **(p.180)** Roman Christians shifted gradually to Latin, and that traces of this shift may be seen in the inscriptions. Accordingly, we can seek for the features briefly outlined above.

The situation in the Jewish speech community from third- and fourth-century Rome is different. According to Noy, the distribution of Greek and Latin in the corpus of Jewish inscriptions (*JWE* i-ii) shows that 74 per cent of 585 inscriptions are Greek, 17 per cent Latin, and 6 per cent Greek and Latin.¹⁷ According to Rutgers, in and around Rome c.595 Jewish inscriptions have been found, of which 467 are in Greek (79 per cent) and 127 in Latin (21 per cent). One inscription is in Aramaic (Rutgers 1995: 176). In spite of the slight statistical differences between Noy and Rutgers, we can see that Greek is much more popular than Latin, even if one has to keep in mind the lack of later data. In his extensive study of Jews in Rome, Solin had come to the conclusion that there is no proof of comprehensive Latinization, and the distribution of Greek and Latin inscriptions in Rome seems to indicate that Greek was the main language of the Jewish community there at least until the third century AD (Solin 1983: 705). If the Villa Torlonia catacomb can be dated to the third century, as Fasola suggests, it seems that Greek was still the main funerary language at that time, with 100 per cent of the inscriptions written in Greek in the upper catacomb and 98.8 per cent in the lower one (Fasola 1976: 61-2; Rutgers 1995: 177). The distribution of Greek and Latin inscriptions varies in different catacombs, but Rutgers has suggested that the members of a Jewish community were buried in different catacombs simply because sometimes there was room in one, sometimes in another. I consider his discussion of this subject very plausible (Rutgers 1995: 179).

Noy has measured the sizes of all complete marble plaques in the catacomb of Vigna Randanini in Rome. The result is interesting. There were 32 Greek and 18 Latin plaques, and 7 of what Noy calls 'mixed plaques': the average sizes show that the Greek plaques are almost twice as large as the Latin ones (2,063 cm.² and 1,260 cm.², respectively), whereas the mixed plaques are the smallest (838 cm.²). Are we to suppose that Greek-speaking Jews in Rome were among the wealthiest individuals in the community, and could therefore afford to use a good professional stonecutter and large marble slabs? Leon (1960: 77, 87) suggested that Latin had more **(p.181)** social prestige than Greek in the Jewish community of Rome, and that some Latin speakers were more prosperous than most of their fellows. The claimed social prestige of Latin is, however, supported neither by sociolinguistic analysis nor by archaeological evidence. It seems that the less wealthy wrote the plaques themselves or used cheap scribes with lesser skills, and therefore the language—Greek or Latin—has more variation. In other words, Greek inscriptions were not necessarily associated with cheapness (Nov 1997: 303). In spite of the choice of language, the families may, naturally, have been bilingual. The epigraphic data clearly show that there was no large-scale shift to Latin, but of course the material is of a very fragmentary nature, and when Jews used professional stonecutters, they used their own ones who wrote the texts in Greek according to the tradition (Rutgers 1995: 183–4). Therefore, we may not find many features of interference through shift in the corpus of Jewish inscriptions in Rome. On the other hand, in the environs of Naples, for instance, the situation was different, with the Jewish population using mainly Latin in their funerary inscriptions.¹⁸

Occasionally, a member of the same family can be found in separate inscriptions, which exhibit a different choice of language. The choice may have been made in a bilingual family, and L₁ of the deceased chosen for the funerary inscription. It is, however, possible that the availability of stonecutters at a particular time was a more important factor in the choice of language. At the catacomb of Vigna Randanini in Rome, a woman called Iulia commemorated her husband Castricius with a Latin funerary inscription, but she was commemorated by her son Castricius in Greek (*JWE* ii. 266 and 267).¹⁹ The language choice may refer to the fact that either Iulia or Castricius was Latin-speaking, but which? Iulia chose Latin but her son Greek. This may mean that Iulia spoke Latin, whereas the husband, a *grammateus*, and the son Greek, but it may equally well be the opposite. The language chosen for the epitaph does not tell us that it was the only language spoken in the family (Noy 1997: 304). The genre and content of the inscription were very important, and in fact genre determined the choice on many occasions (Leiwo 1994: 167 ff.; Noy 1997: 307). However, Noy has claimed **(p.182)** that the élite within the Roman Jewish community used slightly more Greek in their epitaphs than ordinary Jewish people (Noy 1997: 306). So it would be attractive to say that Castricius and the son had Greek as their L₁ and Latin as L₂. It may, however, only mean that Castricius was more bound to the Jewish tradition of writing in Greek than his wife. Nevertheless, the family could well have been bilingual. It is also possible that Iulia had a lower social status than her husband, as her common *gentilicium* was frequently found among the lower classes.

Some scholars (e.g. Leon 1960: 87) have argued that the Latin is more ‘correct’ than the Greek in the epigraphic corpus of the Roman Jews. From the linguistic point of view, Leon’s hypothesis is wrong to start with. The main point, I suggest, is not the ‘correctness’ of the Latin or the Greek, but the forms of deviation from the language generally used in these funerary inscriptions, which can tell us something about the varieties used within these communities. A descriptive analysis is far more important than a prescriptive one. The predominance of Greek in this bilingual Jewish epigraphic community is remarkable: there are no Latin formulae typical of the Roman Jewish catacombs, and Latin translations or equivalents of the Greek formulae were not used, but simply borrowed from Greek, the type being **LGlex**. The common Latin funerary formula *benemerenti* is sometimes used together with the Roman habit of naming the commemorator. There are only three examples of this epithet translated into Greek as ἀξι^ω and ἀξιή (**GLtrans**: *JWE* ii. 235 and 253 from Vigna Randanini, and 542 from Trastevere, third–fourth century). That indicates, in my opinion, either that Greek was L₁ for these persons or that Greek tradition was crucial in Jewish religion. Since both Greek and Latin were used in the Jewish catacombs, we may assume that the Jewish community was bilingual. The interesting question still remains: why Greek or Latin? As Noy asks (1997: 307): was the ‘Latin style’ chosen by persons whose first language was Latin, or was style or tradition more important, the traditional language being employed irrespective of the deceased’s first language? However, stylistic variation in the Jewish funerary inscriptions is small. On the other hand, if a person wished to use a certain formula, e.g. *benemerenti*, he or she may have chosen Latin instead of Greek, as translations were not common. In epigraphic data with more generic variation (honorary inscriptions, dedications, votive texts, **(p.183)** etc.), the genre was an important determinant of language choice; at least in Naples the choice of language was largely directed by the genre of the inscription. In these cases the deviations inside a genre are important. A functional classification into high (H) and low (L) variety would be practical in studying the choice of language as well, but it is not easy to establish which variety is high and which is low (Leiwo 1994: 51), as H and L are, in fact, extremes in a continuum.

4. The Jews of Venusia

I have chosen Venusia on the borders of Apulia and Lucania as my example for a closer analysis of an ethnic epigraphic community.²⁰ It was the home town of the poet Horace, and later it had a large and prominent Jewish community who used Greek, Latin, and Hebrew in their funerary inscriptions.²¹ The texts have been published several times, the latest edition being by Nov (*JIWE* i. 42-116). It is not known when the Jewish colony settled in Venusia, and where it came from, but the inscriptions in the catacomb can be dated from the fourth to the seventh century. Outside the catacomb, in the open air, there are some medieval Jewish inscriptions. One of them is written in Hebrew and can be dated to 808 (Colafemmina 1980: 203-16; Solin 1983: 735; *JIWE* i, pp. xv-xx; Salvatore 1991: 295). It seems that they do not belong to the community which used the catacomb. On the whole, there are no Jewish inscriptions after the middle of the ninth century. These Jewish inscriptions represent the majority of the epigraphic evidence of late antiquity in Venusia, since other late epigraphic data are almost totally lacking.²² The only late socio-politically important inscription which is not Jewish is *CIL* ix. 430, commemorating a *consacratio in honorem splendidae ciuitatis Venusiorum* made by the *corrector Aelius Restitutus*. Apart from the Jewish inscriptions, the epigraphic data are in Latin. Near the Jewish catacomb Christian underground tombs have been found, and it seems that the Venusian Christian (**p.184**) community used Latin (see Colafemmina 1975; 1976; Salvatore 1991: 278).

The Jewish inscriptions in the catacomb were painted or incised on plaster (Leon 1954: 268). The texts are appropriate for a sociolinguistic study, since it seems that most of the inscriptions were made within the family at the time of the burial without employing professional cutters. Thus the variety they display is probably closer to the language of the commemorators than in those cases where professional cutters were used. As Kaimio justly states, the fact that a person usually handed over the general outline of the text to somebody else to work on increased the distance between individual language and community language (Kaimio 1979: 168). As I mentioned above, three languages were used in these catacombs. Adjacent inscriptions can be Greek, Latin, or bilingual (Greek and Hebrew (**He**), Latin and Hebrew). There are no texts of the type **L/G**, **LjG**, **L+G**, and **L-G** or vice versa. The use of Hebrew is restricted (c.10 per cent), but Leon claims that almost without exception it is written correctly, and argues that it is an indication that those who used Hebrew were better educated than the average member of the community (Leon 1954: 274, 279). Some Hebrew examples show, however, that *shalom* was spelt with an aleph as if it were a normal alpha (e.g. *JIWE* i. 49). This feature is attested elsewhere among the Greek-speaking Jews. The use of Hebrew may thus not be an indication of better education. Rather, it may only show that the few ritual words were well learnt. It is evident that Hebrew was nobody's mother tongue at that time.

Dating is difficult, the only dated inscription being from 521 (*JWE* i. 107). There are many that are earlier and some that are later, but the majority seem to be from the fifth and sixth centuries. This was also the opinion of Mommsen (*CIL* ix, p. 660). The total number is 74 inscriptions.

The bodies were buried in *arcosolia*,²³ but these could belong to extended family groups.²⁴ It is also possible that some *arcosolia* were controlled by special groups, who sold off the spaces. In my investigation of the inscriptions I have kept in mind the theoretical background given by bilingual studies and contact linguistics. Only (p.185) a few examples may be cited in this connection. The texts are incised or painted in red above the *loculi*. They can be dated roughly to the fourth, fifth, and sixth centuries.

(9) *JWE* i. 47: ω δε κ [Math Processing Error] τε' Ασθηρ θυγάτηρ Σ υριανο
έτ ω νδ $\hat{\nu}$ ο. **שאלום (G)**

Here lies Asther, daughter of Syrianus, aged two. *Peace*.²⁵

(10) *JWE* i. 59; τάφος Βερωνικεις πρεσβιτερες ετφιλια Ιωσεις. (**LGlex**)
Tomb of Beroniee, elder and daughter of Joses.

(11) *JWE* i. 61: τάφος Φαστινιπατερης **אמן | שלום על ישראל** (**LGlex-He**)
Tomb of Faustinus the father. *Peace to Israel. Amen*.

Cf. no. 56 in Latin on the gallery wall outside the *arcosilium* D₂; *Absida ubi cesquit Faustinus pater* ('The niche where Faustinus the father rests').

(12) *JWE* i. 62:
τάφος Μαννινεστρεσβιτερες τιγάτερ Λονγινιπατερης, ιν γόνιν Φαστινιπατέρις
έτ ω]νλγ'. (**GLmorph+pboil**)

Tomb of Mannina the elder, daughter of Longinus the father, grandchild of Faustinus the father, aged 38.

(13) *JWE* i. 65: πάφος Φαστίνης νιπί ης έτ $\hat{\theta}$ ν έ', τιγάτερ' Ανασ[τασίου?]
(**GLphon**)

Tomb of Faustina, child, aged 5 years, daughter of Anas[ta]sius[?].

(14) *JWE* i. 53; τάφος Καλλίστου νιπίου άρχοσσιν αγωγο $\hat{\nu}$ έτ ω νγ' [μη] ν $\hat{\omega}$
νγ' έν [εί]ρέ[νη] ή κόμη[σις] αὐτο $\hat{\nu}$]. (**GLtrans**)

Tomb of Callistus, child, *archisynagogos*, aged 3 years 3 months. In peace his sleep.

(15) *JWE* i. 63; Hic requiescet Alexsanra pateressa qui u[ix]it anoro plus
m[inus —] **שלום** (**LGHelex**)

Here rests Alexsanra the fatheress, who lived more or less — years.
Peace.

(16) *JIWE* i. 86: hic ciscucd Faustina filia Faustini pat(ris), annorum
quartuordecim mēnsurum quinquē, que fuet unica parenturum, quei
dixerunt trīnus duo apostuli et duo rebbites et satis grandem dolurem
fecet parentibus et lagremas cibitati. **נרף נפש שלום || משכה של פרוסטינה** |
que fuet pronepus Faustini pat(ris) et nepus Biti et Acelli, qui fuerunt
matures cibitatis. (**LGlex+graph-He**)

Here rests Faustina, daughter of Faustinus the father, aged 14 years 5
months. She was her parents' only child. Two apostles and two rabbis (**p.**
186) spoke the dirges for her, and she made great enough grief for her
parents and tears for the community. *Resting-place of Faustina. May her
soul rest. Peace.* She was the great-granddaughter of Faustinus tin-father,
granddaughter of Vitus and Asellus, who were leaders of the community.
(Probably we should translate 'town' instead of 'community': see Grelle
1994: 152–4.)

(17) *JIWE* i. 67: ice reqi[e]scit Marcellus fecet dolore grande parentibus.
(L)

Here rests Marcellus. He made great grief for his parents.

Text (10) is interesting and revealing. I analyse it as **LGlex**, since except for
Greek letters the matrix language is Latin, and there is a Greek tag *τάφος*. The
word is the standard Greek term for 'tomb', and Noy argues that it is rare to find
it together with a personal name (*JIWE* i, p. 61), However, in Greek and Latin
epigraphy the collocation is in fact common, and it exists in Jewish inscriptions
as well (Kant 1987: 678), although it is not so common elsewhere in the corpus
of Jewish inscriptions. The pagan and Christian inscriptions of Venusia are
normally in Latin: only Jews used Greek. This means that there was at least some
linguistic diversity in the city. A closer look at inscription (10) provides further
evidence of this diversity.

The name of the deceased is Beronice (= Berenice, Solin 1982 b: 21–112; see also Threaght 1980: 214–17 for the <e>/<o> variation in Attic Greek generally, e.g. *Κόρκυρα*~*Κέρκυρα*; *ὀβελός*~*ὀβολός*), which is in the genitive with the Latin ending *-enis*, the inflection being *-e*, *-enis*. This declension was rather common. Leumann argues that it was formed on the analogy of the type *-ων*, *-ωνος*, which became *-o*, *-onis* in Latin. The same declension *-o*, *-onis* was used for feminine Greek names with the ending *-ῶ*, *-οῦς* as well (*Calypso*, *-onis*), which may have been the model for the type *Nice*, *Nicenis* (Leumann 1977: 457, 459–60). The form *Βερωνικενίς* is not attested in Rome, where we find only the dative *Beroniceni*, e.g. *Iuliae Beroniceni* (CIL vi 20395), *Caeselliae Beroniceni* (CIL vi. 13932), and *Beroniceni* (ICUR 610), which imply that the genitive with the ending *-enis* was common. Names had, however, several context-independent variants in epigraphic Latin²⁶—we should not name it heteroclitic **(p.187)** variation, which is a different thing—and such forms arise from different social registers, perhaps also from some kind of bilingual contact. The Greek epsilon is used for the historically long vowel /e:/ in *-enis*. Its use reflects the loss of quantity in both languages, but the writing of historically long /e:/ has undergone some graphic variation in Venusia (see below).

Beronice held the title *presbytera*. Thus the following word *πρεσβιτερες* must be in the genitive as well. The choice of iota instead of upsilon suggests that upsilon had already changed to /i/. The genitive feminine ending *-es* is rather common in epigraphic Latin. The writer could have written *πρεσβιτερης* (see no. 13 for use of the genitive case) or even the standard *πρεσβιτέρας* (Gignac 1981: 113–14, 147). As the genitive ending *-es* was productive in Latin, and generally attested outside Greek loanwords, it does not have to be an example of code-mixing. The epigraphic evidence shows that it was an actual variant in the Latin declension among some social groups.

The rest of the text is clearly Latin, and the name loses (gen. *Ιωσέτις*) has the same inflection in another Latin text, where the form *Iositis* is attested (no. 90) (Leumann 1977: 460). The merger of /i/ and /e/ is well documented in Venusia. The nominative *φιλία* instead of the expected genitive creates no problems, since incongruence was a rather common feature in inscriptions (see also Leon 1960: 86).

But what kind of a contact situation do we actually have here? By and large, we may be confident in saying that the Jewish speech community in Venusia was at least in part bilingual, though whether this community was shifting to Latin, as Mommsen already thought, or not is still to be established.²⁷ Is it possible to find signs of an interference through shift or of bilingual mixed codes?

As far as I can judge, the texts have hints of an imperfect learning of Greek. According to Thomason and Kaufman, imperfect learning does not start so much with vocabulary as with sounds and syntax. If we start, however, from the assumption that Greek was the first spoken language in the Jewish community of Venusia, we should find lexical loans from Latin and some code-mixing, or **(p. 188)** structural borrowing, as Thomason and Kaufman argue (1988: 50). There are some Greek Jewish terms, and from the above data we can distinguish some Latin case endings in texts written in Greek characters (*Λονγινι, Φασστινι*, perhaps *πατερικ*) together with some possible features from Latin phonology, such as *τιγάτερ* (nom.), where the Greek fricative²⁸ [θ] is replaced with a stop [t], and *ινγόινυ* (nom.,.) (*έγγόνι(ο)ν*), where <ινγ> instead of <έγγ> may represent Latin morphophonology. In addition, the Latin /u/ has been written with an omicron in the name Faustinus, and the feminine genitive has the ending *-es* with graphic variation (*Μαννίνες*,²⁹ *πρεσβιτερες, Φαστίνης, νιπίης*). After the genitive there is a syntactic break in nos. (12) and (13), and *τιγάτερ* is in the nominative as *φιλια* in no. (10). The same features occur more than once, which seems to indicate that their use is not accidental. In these examples the features are lexical, morphological, and phonological. This seems to show that Greek was not a genuine matrix language, i.e. the native language, with casual code-switching to Latin. The Greek examples (9, 13, 14) have little Latin interference, and I regard no. (12) as an instance of mixed code.

On the other hand, if Greek is L₂, we should perhaps discover permanent Latin interference. We can identify some case endings and probable phonological interference from Latin (12, 13), There is code-switching from Greek (cf. nos. (1), (2), and (3) above). That seems to show that Latin was L₁ of the persons who set up the funerary inscriptions nos. (10)–(13). Thus Greek had Latin interference in the Venusian community, but it may have been individual. All this seems to indicate at least that Greek was the traditional language of the cult in the Jewish community, the in-group language, and the members of the community tried to maintain it in their funerary inscriptions. However, it may not have been the mother tongue of the speakers. As time passed, the ability to employ Greek diminished, and it was gradually abandoned (see also Williams 1999: 49). Examples (10)–(13) are cases of bilingual mixed code, but there is no evidence that this mixed code was a spoken register as well.

(p.189) We should now take a closer look at the three texts written in Latin characters. No. (15) is the only Latin inscription from the arcosolium D₂, and Noy (following Mommsen) considered it to be later than no. (12). Both are found *in situ* in grave 8 of arcosolium D₂. Outside the arcosolium is a Latin text painted on the gallery wall which marks the grave of Faustinus (no. (11) above): *Absida ubi cesquit Faustinus pater* (JIWE i. 56).³⁰ The Latin of inscription (15) has some morphophonological characteristics which are worth stating, but generally its language represents the kind of variation which might be expected, considering the date and context. The form *requescet* is not very common, but since this verb, as well as *quiescere*, shows much graphic variation (cf. *cesquit* above), it is not surprising (cf. Solin 1984: 141). The form *anoro* is a common genitive variant (often also α(ν)νωρων), showing loss of the final /n/,³¹ and the genitive instead of the accusative or ablative is sometimes combined with *uixit*. It seems that expressions like, for example, *Puer Icogenes anorum VIII* (Diehl 4019, from Rome) and *Πανλίνα αννωρων κδ' XXIII* (Diehl 3999), and others of similar structure, can be considered as a model for *uixit annorum* (Hofmann and Szantyr (1965) ii. 70–1). *Pateressa* is a feminine version of the Jewish title *pater*, the ‘fatheress’ as Noy translates it. *Qui* instead of *quae* is rather common in late Latin, indicating that the use of *qui* for both genders was becoming increasingly general, anticipating the use of the Romance languages. There are, however, some very early (first century) examples of the masculine form of the relative used for the feminine (Adams 1995: 101).

Example (16) is the most elaborate Latin inscription from Vennsia, and it has very interesting linguistic and cultural features. I shall focus on some of the linguistic points only.³²

The Greek word *θρῆνος*, ‘a hymn, funeral song’, is borrowed as *trḡnus*; the writer apparently did not know how to write the first vowel, and accordingly chose a Greek letter. As he chose the same letter for the first /e/ in *mḡnsurum*, he probably had the same phoneme in mind. This may mean that he was more familiar with Greek letters than Latin, and as such was a professional Jewish **(p. 190)** stonecutter. The contents of the inscription and the importance of the family support this hypothesis. The Greek eta is used for the historical long /e:/ twice, but not regularly. Variation between the graphemes <e, ε>–<η>–<ι, ι> is common at this time, but the underlying phonetic reality is problematic, since there is interference from traditional spelling as well. Nevertheless, it may mean that there was also some (individual?) variation in pronunciation: *Μαννίνες, πρε-σβιτ[ινεθ]ρες, Φαστίνης, νιπίης, lagremas, trḡnus, mḡnsurum, parentebus, fuel*. The basic historical changes in the vowel system are very well documented, but it should be kept in mind that different pronunciations coexisted in different sociolinguistic registers. This is a universal linguistic phenomenon.

The declension of *quei, mensurum, parenturum* (*cui* or *qui, menstum, parentum*) may reflect imperfect learning. At any rate, the second declension was more normative and regular than the third. It is common in situations of imperfect learning to find that the most common declension functions as a model. Compare a very fine non-standard Latin example from AD 269: Diehl 3391 from Rome (**Lg** or **LGmorph**):

*κ ωσουλεΚλυδειωεδ ΠατεπνωνωνεισςΝοβενβρειβονσςδειεΒενερεςλουνα
XXIIIΙ Λευκεςφελειε
ΣεβηρεκαρεσσεμεποσουετεεδεισπειρειτωσανκτωτουωμορτουααννωπωμVLeδμησων
XL δευρων X.*

(*Transcription*: cosule Klydio ed Paterno nonis Nouenbribus die Veneres Luna XXIIIΙ Leukes filie Severe karesseme posuete ed ispirito sankto tuo. mortua annorom VL ed mesoron XI deyron X.)

On Friday, 5 November, 24th moon, when Claudius and Paternus were consuls, Leuces set up to her dearest daughter Severa and to your holy spirit. She died aged 45 years, 11 months, 10 days.

The father Leuces (=Leucius or Lucius) set up the funerary inscription for his daughter Severa. The text shows rather common variation in inflection (e.g. Leumann 1977: 450 ff.), but I would not call the forms heteroclitic or ‘neue Flexion oder Einzelkasus’, as Leumann does. If it were a new declension, it would have to be grammaticalized, and attested in standard Latin as well. Therefore, forms like *mensurum, parenturum, αννωρωμ,μησων*, and *δευρων* (=dieron) are more probably the result of sociolinguistic variation. It is possible that they are produced by a reanalysis on the analogy of *liberorum* and *annorum* → *parentorum, mensorum* (Leumann 1977: 452). I suggest that such forms belong to the field of diachronic **(p.191)** sociolinguistics, and they may result from internal processes of historical change in Latin. Be that as it may, the words were not transferred to the second declension in the Romance languages. The problem is how to distinguish between internal change with (ephemeral) sociolinguistic variation and external change through language contact and imperfect learning. The tendency to explain linguistic diversity as a process of internal historical change without contact-induced variation is, naturally, too simplistic. It is obvious even in corpus languages that the different features are not only longitudinal changes from A to B, but also coexistent sociolinguistic variants or the results of language contact. The written form may reflect scribal tradition as well, and not spoken patterns of Latin or Greek (cf. Adams 1995).

The form *quei* may not be a dative after all.³³ It may be a nominative plural anticipating the subject of the verb. The forms *dolurem*, *matures*, *parenturum*, and *mensurum* are interesting with respect to phonology as well. The merger of long /o:/ with short /u/ is a phonologically relevant fact which caused misspellings, and <o> is used for <u> (Adams 1995: 91–2). However, it is strange that the original Latin long /o:/ seems to close in Venusia, and is written with <u>. This is usually regarded as a very late, Merovingian phenomenon (Väänänen 1981: 36). See also *de[positus]est die tertiu idus ...* in a Venusian Christian epitaph (Colafemmina 1976: 151. 6, AD 453 or 524). This may have been a phenomenon belonging to the local spoken Latin, even if there was some graphic interchange between the long /o:/ and /u/ in a Latin loan in Greek (e.g. *patrimomu (m)* = *πατρεμοννιον* P. Strassb. 337. 4–5, AD 330/1), but this was not general, and as an explanation for the Venusian forms it is not plausible. (In Egyptian Greek vowel weakening and loss of distinctiveness was common in unstressed position: Gignac 1976: 208–11; Theodorsson 1977: 149, 159).

The voicing of stops before the sonants /r/ and /l/ is attested in non-standard Latin (Väänänen 1981: 56–7), but it is not a typical variation in Greek (cf. a couple of early examples from the fifth century BC, Threatte 1980: 556–7; Theodorsson 1978: 77–80; for Egypt see Gignac 1976: 79). The chronology of the voicing in Latin is difficult to establish, but the process had probably begun at least in the Early Empire. Adams suggests that as the letter <c> originally (**p. 192**) had the value both of voiced and of voiceless stop, the early writing convention left its mark even on later epigraphy (Adams 1977: 30). The data concerning the voicing become more abundant much later, starting from the beginning of the fifth century (Väänänen 1981: 57). Therefore, the variant *lagremas* exhibits an attested historical change in Latin (cf. also Italian variation *lacrimal lagrima*). Note the writing of short unstressed /i/ as <e> in this inscription (*fuet, fecet, parentebus, lagremas*). Probably in some spoken registers unstressed /i/ had a weak pronunciation, almost like /e/ (cf. Cic. *De oral*, 3. 46).³⁴ This was reflected in writing as well (Väänänen 1981: 36).

The existence of final -m in *grandem dolurem* reflects traditional spelling, which is almost hypercorrect in this otherwise perplexing text. Compare, for example, no. (17) *dolore grande* and no. (16) *quattuordeci* (although Leon 1954: 268 n. 4 read *quattuordecim*). The final -us in *nepus* and *pronepus* may also be a hypercorrect Latinism, since the correct forms had the ending -os, which was not so common. On the other hand, it may reflect the pronunciation of historically long /o:/ in Venusia (see above). On the whole, only minor Greek interference can be found in text no. (16). There is no real code-mixing, but features of hypercorrection or otherwise substandard Latin seem to be strong. They are typical of native speakers.

5. Conclusion

It is important to make a distinction between different types of linguistic mixture in the written data, and to try to analyse each text in its historical and socio-political context. It is obvious that distinct features of linguistic contact and bilingualism are found even in Greek and Latin inscriptions, and these can be systematically classified. I have made an attempt to provide a typology for this classification. Sometimes the results of contact resemble the features attested in spoken registers, and, for example, code-switching is attested. However, each text has to be studied in its own context, in an effort to see the reasons for the code-switching in its particular socio-political and cultural environment. Some examples **(p.193)** of Jewish inscriptions even seem to represent a mixed code in a written form, but it is very improbable that such a mixed code is a reflection of any spoken register—it is rather an attempt to write a single language with only rudimentary skills (see below). We do not know, however, whether the persons who wrote the texts tried to speak Greek as well. The texts may be a sign of complementary bilingualism in the Jewish speech community of Venusia.

Some general remarks on Christian and Jewish texts were made. Earlier research has shown that the output of Christian and Jewish epigraphic communities displays different lines of acculturation. Christian inscriptions were mostly in Latin in Italy, whereas the Jewish were mainly in Greek. The use of Greek diminished in the Christian community of Rome so that in the fifth century only 1 per cent of funerary inscriptions were Greek, as against 41.2 per cent in the third century. It seems thus that the Greek-speaking Christian community shifted its language between AD 200 and 400. We should therefore find traces of this shift in the epigraphic data. I did not concentrate on evaluating this hypothesis, but instead I made a case study of the Venusian Jewish community. The Jews of Italy in general seem not to have shifted to Latin. The evidence of the Jewish catacombs in Rome shows that Greek was used more than Latin at all times: the percentages of Greek inscriptions vary between 100 per cent (Via Nomentana, upper catacomb) and 64.7 per cent (Vigna Randanini), but Latin interference is rarely traced. In Venusia, however, the situation was at least hypothetically different. It has been argued that the Venusian Jewish community shifted from Greek to Latin within two hundred years: the inscriptions in the catacombs seem to show that Greek was used for the early burials there, while later Latin became more and more popular. It has been claimed that when the catacomb was enlarged in the course of time, the new funerary texts were in Latin. This hypothesis is, however, somewhat dubious, since adjacent *loculi* sometimes have inscriptions in Greek and Latin. It is implausible to claim that such burials were separated by a great span of time.

The origin of the Venusian Jewish community is not known. The texts were written in both Greek and Latin, and various forms of code-mixing are found. The other inscriptions of Venusia are almost without exceptions in Latin, including those of the Christian community. There are no inscriptions of types **L/G**, **L|G**, **L+G**, or **L-G** (or vice versa) in the Jewish data. Hebrew tags were added (**p.194**) to some inscriptions, the most usual being 'Peace' and 'Peace to Israel.'. In sum, the linguistic analysis seems to suggest a generally Latin speech community. Several inscriptions which were written in Greek (basically) or in Greek characters show upon analysis that Latin was L₁ of the writers. Morphological and phonological interference from Latin to Greek seems to be rather strong, and Greek words are mainly tags and religious loans. This may mean that Greek was basically a ritual language which was used in funerary and ritual texts even if it was not spoken outside its particular function.

The most troublesome issue of the analysis is chronology. A catacomb naturally has a relative chronology of its own, the youngest graves being the most distant within the complex. Since there are some texts written in a Greek variety which does not deviate much from other Greek Jewish funerary inscriptions, it would be tempting to suppose that these are the earliest funerary texts. However, I am not convinced that that is the only explanation. One should stress that the use of language in a speech community, even if it shares some common norms, is never uniform, and some Greek-speaking monolinguals could well have lived in a Jewish community like that of Venusia, although the majority were Latin speakers, together with some bilinguals. The mixing of Latin and Greek points strongly in this direction. It seems that the members of the Jewish community tried to write Greek according to their tradition, but did not know it properly. It is also possible that when Latin-speaking Christians became the great majority, Jews had to adopt a low profile and use Latin.

Some interesting characteristics require explanation. The long Latin inscription (16) mentions two apostles and rabbis. This text has some graphic mixture, and the Latin is not a variety of the kind one would expect to find at that time (fifth or sixth century). This may mean that the writer was more familiar with Greek than Latin, and as such was a professional Jewish stonecutter. The language used in the inscription may have been a local variety. Modern Southern Italian dialects seem to share the raising of /o/ and voicing of stops /k, p/ in some contexts, and this phenomenon may reflect an older usage.

Notes:

(1) For earlier definitions see Romnino (1988) 22-38.

(2) Sarhimaa has come to the conclusion that Karelian-Russian bilingualism has given rise to three Russian-influenced codes: Nco-Karlian, Russian-Karelian, and Karussian (Sarhimaa 1999: 305).

(3) The main categories of code-switching are intersentential and intrasentential. The latter can be divided into several subclasses according to the type of the switch (see Dabène and Moore 1995: 35).

(4) I use the term 'ethnic group' to refer to 'those human groups that entertain a subjective belief in their common descent because of similarities of physical type or of customs or both, or because of memories of colonization and migration' (Weber 1996 [1978]: 35).

(5) Inscriptions have to be examined inside a given epigraphic genre, e.g. honorary, agonistic, votive, or funerary. Deviation from standard style within the genre may be a significant indication of linguistic variation.

(6) We can specify the different strata, for instance, as follows (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 116): (1) *Superstratum*: victorious invaders who shift to the language of the conquered. (2) *Substratum*: languages of conquered or socio-politically subordinate indigenous people, immigrants. (3) *Adstratum*: invaded or invader groups that are neither dominant nor subordinate in the contact situation. Some groups may maintain their original language, some may change theirs. However, this traditional distinction is not very useful for the interpretation of different chronological strata: see the discussion in Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 116-18.

(7) For Greek and Latin contact see Horrocks (1997) 74-7.

(8) For further details see Dabène and Moore (1995).

(9) A draft typology has recently been suggested by Felle (1997) 671-2, whose work has given me some general ideas about the way that such a typology could be constructed. Since his paper is preliminary, I refer to it only in connection with the data studied by Felle.

(10) The succession of languages in the text is, I think, important. The first language is either that of the official administration or the first language in the speech community.

(11) The woman was Appia Annia Regilla Atilia Caueidia Tertulla, the wife of Herodes Atticus, *PIR*² A 720, and *PIR*² ii. 180 = *FOS* 66 with more bibliography. Herodes was accused of killing her. The *praedia* were Regilla's *fundus dotails*. The contents of the inscription are further analysed by Ameling (1983) no. 144.

(12) Ameling (1983) i. 100-1 and ii no. 147 (= *IG* iii. 1417).

(13) The vowel length had, however, probably disappeared as a phonologically relevant factor at this time.

(14) A good example is *IEphesos* iii. 718 = *AnnEpigr.* (1959) 11: 'Ex decreto ordinis civitatis Kphiesiorum τῆς πρώτης καὶ μεγροπόρον την Σεβαστέν Sex(tum) Sentium Sex. f. Fab(iae) Proculum IIIIuirum uiarum curandarum q(uaestorem) pr(o) pr(aetore) prouine(iae) Asiae C. Precilius Apollonides cliens cum Precilis Melitoniano, Gaum, Melitine liber.s suis amicum optumum.'

(15) An interesting example of this kind is *IG* xii. 9. 32 = *CIL* iii. 12287 (Carystus); 'L. Marcius Ner. loco publ[ice dato hic] eremattis est Λεύκιος Μάρκι[ος Νέρ- -] ἐνθάδε τόπω [ι δημοσίαι] δοθέντι κεῖ τ[αι] ζήσας [- -]. Read literally, the hotly was cremated in the Latin version, but buried in the Greek version. Note that the age of the deceased is (probably) mentioned only in the Greek version, although it was typically a Roman custom.

(16) Murray (1982) has discussed some theological distinctions in the terminology between Jews, Hebrews, and Christians. On the terms 'Ιουδαῖος /'Ιουδαία and their Latin equivalents, see Kraeiner (1989). They occur in only 34 epitaphs and 10 other inscriptions out of approximately 1,700 extant Jewish inscriptions. It seems that Jewishness was apparent through the burials in Jewish catacombs and synagogues, and through Jewish symbols (Kraemer 1989: 37-8).

(17) Two texts are omitted, as it is not possible to specify the language: *JIWE* ii. 225, which has one letter, and 497, which has three (Noy 1997: 301).

(18) *JIWE* i, 25-37. A little over half of these texts are bilingual, of the type **LHelex** (He=Hebrew). There is only one text in Greek (no. 30).

(19) 266: 'Castricius grammateus. Iulia coiux marito suo benemerenti fecit'.
267: τῇ ἰδίᾳ {μη}μητρί 'Ιονλῖαι Καστρίκς υἱὸς ἐποίησε ν ἐν εἰρήνῃ κοίτη σον.

(20) Venusia belonged to *Regio* II, but it was situated on the fringe of Apulia so that it was sometimes considered part of Lucania; cf. Hor. *Sat.* 2. 1. 34.

(21) Leon (1954) and Williams (1999) have discussed the Jewish community in Venusia.

(22) On the history of Venusia, with archeological evidence, see Salvatore (1991).

(23) An arched niche with one or more graves excavated below the baseline of the niche, i.e. below the floor.

(24) Williams (1999) has recently studied the Faustinas family and Jewish inhumation practices at Venusia.

(25) Translations are Noy's except for minor changes that I have made in some names.

(26) Nice has at least three different Latin variants of the genitive: *Nice*, *Nices*, *Nicenis* (*CIL* vi. 4717 ‘*Liuliae Nicenis ornatrix*’); but *Niceni* in *CIL*. 5454 (‘*Niceni* [...] *suae b m Nuuliae Niceni f. fecit*’) is more probably a genitive in which the final <s> is omitted.

(27) *CIL* ix. 660: ‘*ordo eubiculorum idem est temporis: scilicet ut Graecae linguae usus cuanesit, ita en-sett sensim usus linguae ram Latinae quam Hebraicae. ut in ultimo cubiculo ad sinistram in decern epitaphiis Graeca nulla sint ...*’ See also Williams (1999) 49: she assumes that the Faustinus family shifted to Latin,

(28) At this time the phoneme written with θ is almost certainly a fricative, not an aspirated stop.

(29) As Nov suggests, Mannine may be a name from Asia Minor, but it is not included in name-lists (*JWE* i. S3). It is more probable, however, that the name is a Latin *cognomen* Manninus (Solin and Salomies 1004: s.v.). The feminine *Mannina* has been inflected in the genitive as *Mannines*.

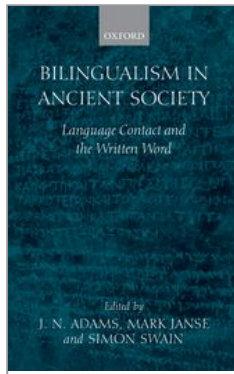
(30) On the chronology of this family see Williams (1999) 42–8.

(31) Cf. Diehl 2797 B: ‘*nomine Leo defunctus annoru II, mesoru X inter manos parentor(u) VIII Kallendas Ianuarias*’; 3375 A: ‘*Ερμαείσκε, φώς, ζῆς ἐνθ εἰκνρεῖ^ω ἀννωρου X, μησωρουμ septe*’.

(32) Adams discusses some of these texts in his forthcoming book. See also Williams (1999) 47–8.

(33) There are some attestations of *qui* = *cui* (*ILS* 4830, 6797), but the variant *quel* is not mentioned in Leumann (1977).

(34) ‘*Qua re Cotta noster, cuius fu illa lata, Sulpici, non numquam imitaris, ut iota litteram tollas et E plenissimum dicas, non mihi oratores antiques, sed messorum uidetur imitari.*’



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Interference or Translationese? Some Patterns in Lycian-Greek Bilingualism

IAN RUTHERFORD

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Abstract and Keywords

The linguistic situation in Lycia was always complex, mirroring the complex history of the region. In the classical period, at least three languages are spoken: Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic. Lycian existed in at least two forms, Lycian and 'Milyan', the former attested in a large number of inscriptions from the fifth and fourth centuries BC, the latter (also sometimes known as 'Lycian B'), attested in two inscriptions which are apparently poetic. Lycian syntax influenced Greek language in the context of translation, for example, with respect to the preposition *hrppi*, filiation formulae, and word order.

Keywords: Lycian, Greek, Milyan, translation, word order, syntax, filiation formulae, *hrppi*

1. Languages

The linguistic situation in Lycia was always complex, mirroring the complex history of the region. In the classical period at least three languages are spoken: Lycian, Greek, and Aramaic. Lycian existed in at least two forms, Lycian and 'Milyan', the former attested in a large number of inscriptions from the fifth and fourth centuries bc, the latter (also sometimes known as 'Lycian B'), attested in two inscriptions which are apparently poetic. Lycian and Milyan are written in their own alphabet, almost wholly deciphered, which is generally thought to be derivative on some Greek alphabet, possibly a Rhodian one. In the extreme west of Lycia Carian may have been spoken.¹ In the north of Lycia in Kibura, Strabo says that four languages were spoken: Pisidian, Solymian, Greek, and Lydian; of these, Solymian remains mysterious.²

(p.198) Lycian is a member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European, which also includes Hittite, Luvian, Lydian, Carian, Sidetic, and Pisidian. Progress in understanding Lycian continues to be made, particularly in the area of syntax. Much, however, remains uncertain, Shorter Lycian inscriptions can be read with reasonable ease, but most of the longer inscriptions remain largely unintelligible. The most recent account of the language is that of Laroche in the edition of the Xanthos Trilingual (Laroche 1979), but an up-to-date treatment is badly needed.³ There is little doubt that Lycian remained the dominant language spoken in the region through the fifth century bc and most of the fourth, until Alexander's conquests brought about the end of the local culture. Few, if any, inscriptions in Lycian date from after then, and we may assume that Greek soon took over as the standard language, if it had not been so before.⁴

The history of Greek in Lycia probably has several phases, Attic Greek must have been spoken there during the period of the Athenian Empire in the middle of the fifth century bc. But Greek had probably been heard in Lycia for some time before then (there seem to be no traces of the Ionic dialect, and perhaps we should think of influence from Dorian Rhodes).⁵ In the late fifth and early fourth centuries bc Greek is found in Lycian inscriptions, particularly those set up by the ruling dynasty at Xanthos (it seems to be less common in the rival centre of Limyra in the east).⁶ In the mid-fourth century bc, when Lycia comes under the Carian satraps of the Hekatomnid dynasty, the Greek of Lycian inscriptions may have come to reflect the administrative idiom of Caria. Aramaic appeared in Lycia as the administrative language of the Persian Empire, both after the period of Athenian Empire (e.g. the Xanthos Trilingual [XT], composed during the period of the Carian satrapy), and probably before it as well.⁷

(p.199) 2. Data

There are about 175 inscriptions in Lycian, most of them collected in *Tituli Asiae Minoris* vol. i = *Tituli Lyciae* [TL i], edited by Ernst Kalinka (Kalinka 1901), many of those subsequently discovered edited in Günter Neumann's supplement (Neumann 1979), and the most recent discoveries from Xanthos are available in Jean Bousquet's edition in *FdX* 9 (Bousquet 1992 a). Most of them are probably from the fifth and fourth centuries; some inscriptions on amphorae from Rhodes could belong to the sixth century (N300).⁸ Most of them are epitaphs, with simple formulae. We also have decrees, among them the Xanthos Trilingual, a sacred law which records the setting up of a cult in honour of the the god called 'the king of Kaunos' in the fourth century **bc** (either about 358 bc or 337 bc).⁹ Third, some inscriptions can be classed as self-advertisements by local dynasts, including TL i. 44, the Xanthos stele, a piece of self-propaganda by a local dynast who had fought in the wars of the late fifth century, and the inscription set up by Erbbina (Arbinas), ruler of Xanthos in the first part of the fourth century bc, published in 1992 (Bousquet 1992 a).

Among the Lycian inscriptions there are about 10 Lycian-Greek bilinguals. In addition, there are a few cases where Greek and Lycian texts occur on the same monument, although the force of the two is not identical—they are either loosely related ('quasi-bilinguals') or entirely unrelated ('pseudo-bilinguals'). In Graeco-Lycian bilinguals Lycian usually comes first in the inscription, though in a couple of recently discovered ones it comes afterwards (N312 and N302). It should be observed that inscriptions with Greek and no Lycian from this period seem to be much rarer than either inscriptions with Lycian and no Greek or bilinguals.¹⁰

Most of the true bilinguals are epitaphs, and about 10 per cent of the surviving epitaphs are bilingual. No inscription containing 'dynastic propaganda' is a true bilingual. The most elaborate inscription is the Xanthos Trilingual, which has Aramaic as well as Greek and Lycian. The Greek and Lycian texts are fairly close **(p.200)** (most scholars think that the Greek is a translation of the Lycian, partly because some clauses in the Lycian are left untranslated in the Greek),¹¹ but the Aramaic diverges in details.

Table 8. 1. *Bilingual and Quasi-Bilingual Inscriptions*

	Location	Type	Relative position of scripts
1 TL i. 6	Karmutessos	epitaph	Lycian first
2 TL i. 23	Tlos	epitaph	Lycian first
3 TL i. 25	Tlos, theatre	non-sepulchral	Lycian first
4 TL i. 32	Kaduanda	non-sepulchral	(captions on a frieze)
5a TL i. 45	Xanthos (now in British Museum)	decree	equal status
6 TL i. 56	Antiphellos	epitaph	Lycian first
7 TL i. 117	Limura	epitaph	Lycian first
8 N 312	Xanthos	dedication	Greek first
9 N 320	Xanthos (trilingual decree)	decree	equal status
10 <i>FdX</i> 6. 115–18	Xanthos	unknown	equal status
(NSupp2 in Bryce 1986)			
11 TL i. 72	Kuaneai	epitaph	equal status ^b

	Location	Type	Relative position of scripts
<i>Quasi-bilinguals</i>			
12 TL i. 44	Xanthos	dynastic propaganda	
13 N302	Koyrdalla (Tritsch 1976)	epitaph	Greek first
14 N311	Xanthos: Erbbina/ Gergis inscription (<i>FdX</i> 9. 149–50, 159)	epitaph	equal status
15 <i>FdX</i> 9. 155–87c	Xanthos; Erbbina	dynastic	equal status
	inscriptions	propaganda	
16 TL i. 70	Kuaneai	epitaph	Lycian first
17 TL i, 73	Kuaneai	epitaph	Greek first
18 TL i. 134	Limura	epitaph	Luian first
19 TL i, 143	Limura	epitaph	Greek first
20 TL i. 65d	Isinda	decree	equal status

^a A trilingual, according to Bousquet (1986).

^b See Zimmerman (1993) 142–5.

^c Bousquet (1992a) 155–87; NSupp, 1 in Bryce (1986); also known as N124–5.

^d Greek text = LSAM 76.

There are a few bilingual inscriptions from Lycia in combinations of languages other than Greek and Lycian. We also have a Greek-Aramaic quasi-bilingual from Limura (*TL* i. 152: originally **(p.201)** Aramaic; Greek text added a century later), and from Xanthos one Greek-Aramaic bilingual¹² and two Lycian-Aramaic bilinguals.¹³ This frequency of bilingual inscriptions is slightly greater than for other areas of Asia Minor.¹⁴

3. Lycian Inscriptions as Evidence for Bilingualism

3.1. Sociolinguistic context

What can we say about the role of the languages in Lycian society? First, it is necessary to distinguish a number of periods:

- (1) the period immediately before the Athenian Empire, when it is very difficult to say anything substantial about the use of Greek;

(2) the period of the Athenian Empire, when Greek must have been used as the imperial language (although there is no direct evidence for this);

(3) the dynastic period; we may distinguish two subperiods:

(3a) In the late fifth-century Xanthos-stele (15), the use of Greek is limited to a short epigram within a much longer Lycian text;¹⁵

(3b) on the Erbinas inscription, perhaps a generation later, Greek and Lycian enjoy roughly equal positions;

(4) the period of the Carian satrapy (early to middle of the fourth century), when it seems likely that Greek serves the function of an administrative language, as Le Roy and Keen have suggested;¹⁶ it is also likely that Greek was widely spoken by this point;

(5) the period after Alexander, when Lycian seems to die out.

Periods (2), (3), and (4) can probably be thought of as a transition from a more or less monolingual Lycian society to a more or less monolingual Greek one. During these periods both languages **(p.202)** were probably spoken in the community, and we would expect many people to have been bilingual. The appearance of Greek in an inscription alongside Lycian could be interpreted as serving a number of different functions:

(a) I have acknowledged above that Greek could well have been an administrative language during period (4), but it might have been so in period (2) as well, and for all we know continued to be so in period (3).

(b) If Lycian society contained monolingual Graecophones as well as Lyciophones, the commissioner may have used Greek in order to make the inscription intelligible to both groups.

(c) If Lycian society was composed of a majority of monolingual Lyciophones and an élite of bilinguals, Greek may be used as a prestige language, implying a higher social and cultural status. That could be true of the Greek epigram Xanthos-stele (TL i. 44), whose commissioner was perhaps emulating the language of the Athenian Empire.

(d) Greek may have been used because it was an international language which would guarantee a broader audience among non-Lycians.

(e) If Greek speech was already widespread, it may be that the Lycian is cultivated anachronistically as a mark of tradition and as a symbol of a sentimental identity (the Phrygian formulae in Greek- Phrygian bilinguals from Roman Phrygia might be explained in this way).¹⁷

Of these, (e) is inconsistent with the surviving evidence, since if Greek was widespread we would expect numerous monolingual Greek inscriptions. As for (a), (b), (c), and (d), I see no way of deciding between them definitively, and more than one explanation could be true at the same time.

3.2. Linguistic analysis

Lycian-Greek bilingual inscriptions allow us to study influence between the two languages in a number of ways:

(1) the Greek may be anomalous judged by the standards of Greek we know from elsewhere, and we may suspect that it is written by someone for whom it was not a first language;

(p.203)

(2) the Greek may show grammatical features that seem directly to reflect the grammar of the Lycian;

(3) there may be verbal borrowings between the languages, or more or less obvious calques.

What is pretty well impossible at this stage in our knowledge is to say which grammatical features of the Lycian in the bilingual inscriptions are abnormal, judged against the standard of 'normal' Lycian; simply figuring out what the Lycian means is difficult enough.

Now, none of this is evidence for bilingualism in the strict sense. The third type of evidence shows only that the languages had been in contact for some time, and that perhaps individual speakers had been bilingual.¹⁸ The first and second forms of evidence attest rather the practice of translation by a translator, and in some cases imperfect translation at that. Such evidence does not prove extensive bilingualism in the community. In fact, the very existence of bilingual inscriptions might seem to suggest that there was no presupposition of extensive bilingualism in the community. After all, why do you need a Lycian text as well as a Greek one on your tomb if the intended audience is bilingual?

From the linguistic point of view, it is unfortunate that we do not even know for sure what direction the translation moved in, or the native language of the translator. Furthermore, the movement from original text (in one language?) to inscription was probably a complex one: we may have to reckon with a stonemason and a translator, and distinct from the translator was perhaps another character who dictated the text or texts to the stonemason. The linguistic habits of any of these may have had an input into the text.¹⁹

4. Previous Work on Greek Influence on Lycian

4.1. Vocabulary

Almost all the evidence relates to Lycian influence on Greek, and the picture is much clearer with respect to vocabulary than with **(p.204)** respect to syntax, since our control of Lycian syntax is so sketchy. To begin with, there are some manifest cases of verbal borrowings from Greek into Lycian. One is the word *sttala*, now attested in XT, which represents Greek στᾱ λᾱ; perhaps a borrowing from the Doric dialect of Rhodes.²⁰ In TL i. 44 (Lycian-Milyan-Greek trilingual from Xanthos) *triyer?* in lines (b) 22, 23 seems to be Greek τριήρης.

These are clear cases. Others are more doubtful. $\tilde{a}\tilde{m}\tilde{a}m$ (*a*) is suggested by Neumann (1974) to be a borrowing from Greek ἄμω-μος, as an adjective describing cattle, as in *TL* i. 111 (from Limura), where the following requirements are made of someone who abuses the tomb:

- (1) me ttidi kbisñtāta $\tilde{a}\tilde{m}\tilde{a}m$ qlebi [=qla-ebi] kerut[i e ...
 He will pay 20 (?) cattle $\tilde{a}\tilde{m}\tilde{a}m$ (?) to the sanctuary here keret[i..
 se ttidi trzzubi $\tilde{a}\tilde{m}\tilde{a}m$ kbisñtāta uwa
 And will pay 20 (?) cattle $\tilde{a}\tilde{m}\tilde{a}m$ to Trzzubi.

Not all authorities have accepted this analysis.²¹ Another alleged case is *manaxine*, which occurs in *TL* i. 40a and 40b, both of which say:

- (2) p[ayawa] manax[in]e prñ[na]wate prñn[awã] ebēñn[ẽ
 Payawa manax[in]e made this monument.

Neumann (1974: 110) supposes this word to be a calque of Greek μονογενής, and he translates ‘Payawa the only child’.

4.2. Calques of Greek words

One case is the adjective *kumehe/i-*, which means ‘sacred’, and secondarily comes to be used as a noun with the sense ‘sacrificial victim’ or ‘sheep’. In XT, line 20, *seway aitẽ : kumaha* seems to mean ‘and they make into sacrificial victims’ (*FdX* 6. 109), corresponding to Greek Κατιερώθη. So at XT 23 the Greek text:

- (3a) θύειν κατ’ἐκάστην νονημνίαν ἱερεῖ ἱόν Καί κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν βούν
 to sacrifice at each new-month a sacrificial victim and every year an ox
(p.205) corresponds to Lycian (lines 26-7)
 (3b) me-de-te-we : kumezidi : nuredi : nuredi : arã :
 And-them-particle-particle he sacrifices every month rightly
kumehedi se-uhazata : uwadi
a kumehe and-yearly an ox.

Kumehedi (‘sacrificial victim’) and *uwadi* (‘ox’) are ablative/instrumentals, functioning as the object of the verb, Oettinger (1981) suggested that *kumehedi* here is a calque on the Greek ἱερεῖ ἱόν.²²

The other case is the word for ‘possessions’, which seems to be the participle of the verb ‘to be’ in Lycian: *ahñta*, modelled perhaps on Greek ὄντα: We find this only at XT 17

- (4a) se-t-ahñtãi : xñtawatahi : xbidvñnehi : sey arkazumahi
 And of the possessions of the *Khñtawati* of Kaunos and of Arkazuma,

where the first unit is apparently *se* (and) + a particle + *ahñtãi*, apparently genitive plural which translates:

(4b) *Καί τὰ οἶ Κήματα εἶ ναι. Βασιλέως Καυνίου Καὶ Ἀρκεσίμα*

And that the houses belong to King of Kaunos and Arkesimas.

One might expect ‘possessions’ to be expressed by a word for ‘good’, as in Hittite.²³ Again, one has to say that this analysis is less than certain, Are we sure the Lycian word is not an infinitive of the verb ‘to be’, the model for εἶναι?

4.3. An uncertain case

The word *prñnezi* (*ye*), meaning ‘household member’, derived from *prñneze/i*, which means ‘household’,²⁴ occurs in several Lycian inscriptions, and in one bilingual, *TL* i. 6 from Karmulesos, where it corresponds to the Greek word οἰκεῖοι:

(5) *purihimetehe pr[ñ]neziyehi...*

Members-of-the-household of Purihimete.

Πυριμάτιος οκεῖοι ...

(p.206)

Members-of-the-household of Purimatis.

Greek *οἰκεῖος* occurs on other occasions in Lycian inscriptions in the same sense.²⁵ This common Greek word is unlikely to be a calque of the Lycian, but it is possible that the Lycian word is a calque. Alternatively, we might be dealing with two independent developments, the Greek word being used as a convenient translation for the Lycian.²⁶

5. Previous Work on Lycian Influence on Greek

5.1. A preposition

Dressler (1964) pointed out that in one inscription from Karmu-lessos, *TL* i. 6, the preposition *hrppi* in Lycian in the formula *hrppi lada epttehe* (= ‘for their wives’) seems to be translated by Greek ἐπί:

(6) *hrppi lada epttehe se tideime*

For their wives and children. *ἐπί τα ἰς γυναῖξιν ταῖς ἑαστῶν καὶ τέκνος*

For their wives and children.

There are also examples in Greek from Arsada, a settlement between Tlos and Xanthos (fourth—third century BC), discussed by Bean (1948), e.g.

(7) *Μένανδρος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ Ὅσωνα καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ υἱῷ ἰ Μενάνδρῳ*

ἠ" ρωσι.

M]enandros for his wife Osone and for his son Menandros *heroes*.

For interference manifesting itself in prepositions, there is a parallel in Egyptian-Greek bilingualism from the Hellenistic and Roman periods. It has been known since Erman (1893) that Greek *ὑπό* is used as a sort of calque on the Egyptian *ḥr* ('under'); Husson (1982) takes this further, showing that Greek *ὑπό* assumes a range of specific Egyptian-inspired senses: (a) laden with, as in the phrase that forms the title of Erman's article, *ὄνος ὑπὸ ὄνου*; (b) occupied by, of buildings; (c) containing. Other examples of interference manifesting itself in prepositions could no doubt be cited from other languages and traditions.²⁷

(p.207) 5.2. Conjunctions and particles

Blomquist (1982: 17–18) pointed out that the Greek text of XT is lacking in the normal variety of particles, being confined for the most part to *Καί*. In Lycian the usual conjunctions are *se* = 'and' (particularly common) and *me* = 'but' or 'and' (=Hittite 'ma'), Blomquist considers the possibility that *KAĪ* is a feature of this particular style of official writing, but he opts in the end for the view that Greek *KAĪ* represents influence from the Lycian *se* on the grounds that almost every *KAĪ* corresponds to a *se* in Lycian, while *KAĪ* never corresponds to the other Lycian particles. Blomquist may be right; there are certainly parallels for interference involving sentence connectives.²⁸ Still, the argument is not wholly convincing, because where the other particles occur in Lycian, *KAĪ* is not generally a possible translation; for example, the particle *me* tends to occur at the start of clauses that in Greek would be the apodosis of complex sentences.

Blomquist draws attention to a slightly different problem involving a conjunction at the start of the XT. In the Greek the first sentence is an *ἐπεὶ* clause (when Pixodaros became ruler) followed by an apodosis (he appointed these officials), and then a decree of the Xanthians, introduced by *ἔδοξε δὲ* ...:

(7a) *ἐπεὶ Λυκίας ξαδράπης- ἐγένετο Πιξώδαρος Ἐκατόμνω υἱός*
Κατέστμε ἀρχοντας Λυκίας Ἱέρωνα Καί Ἀπολλόδοτον
Καί Ξάνθον ἐπιμελητ Ἀρτεμηλιν, ἔδοξε δὲ ...
 When Pixodaros son of Hekatomnōs became satrap of Lycia,
 he appointed as rulers of Lycia I Hierōn and Apollodōtos
 and as governor of Xanthos Artemēlis, it was decided indeed ...

In the Lycian version of XT, the first sentence is a long 'when' clause, but where the Greek has an apodosis, Lycian has a second **(p.208)** subdivision of the 'when' clause, introduced by 'se'; the apodosis comes with the decision of the Xanthians: *me hñtitubedv* :

(7b) *vke : Tr[̃]misñ : χssaθrapazate : Pigesere : Katamlah : tideimi*
sv-ñne ñte-pddvhadv : Tr[̃]mile : pddvneh[̃]is : Iyeru :
se-Natrbbiyumi sey-Arñna : asaxlazu : Erttimeli : me hñtitubedv ...

When of Termis was-satrap Pigesere Katamla's child and-them-put-in-place in-Lycia place-holders Iyeru and-Natrbbiyemi and of Arnna governor Artemelis, then they-de-cided ...
(i.e. 'When Pigesere, son of Katamlah, was satrap in Lycia, he installed Iyeru and Natrbbiyemi as officers and Artemelis as controller of Arnna; then they decided ...')

The Greek translation is puzzling: on the face of it, the translator has left out a *Καί*. If this had been included, the translation would have been good, since the particle *δή* can have an apodotic function (Denniston 1954: 24–5). Blomquist (1982: 15) infers from this that the Greek translator has misunderstood the structure of the Lycian: faced with the unwieldy string of conjunctions at the start of line 2 of the Lycian, he took the option of not translating any of it, a strategy which in the short term makes linguistic sense, since it implies an apodosis to the 'when' clause. However, a better way of explaining this problem may be to posit two stages in the process, first a translation contributed by a translator, and second a transcription of his translation carried out by a stonecutter: the use of the particle *δή* suggests that the translator had an adequate understanding of the structure of the Lycian, and it seems likely that in the original translation a *Καί* was present at the start of line 2; but the stonecutter omitted it, either for linguistic reasons (e.g. after *ἐπεὶ* he looked for an apodosis and found it in the next line) or because his eye skipped over *Καί* before the similar beginning of *Κατέστησε*.

5.3. Definite article

Like other Anatolian languages, Lycian lacks the definite article. Greek usually has the definite article, but the Greek of the bilingual inscriptions also omits it in a few contexts: it does not use the definite article with personal names, whether names of dedicators in the nominative, or names of fathers. Nor do we find it with ethnic terms, as in *TL* i. 45, a fragment of a decree from Xanthos:

(p.209)

(8) *ἔδωκεν Πιξάρος Ἐκ[α]τό[μνου Ξαν[θ]ίο[ι]ς Τλωίτοις [Πι]ναρέοις Καν-
δαυδεο[ι]ς [δ]εκάτην*
He gave, Pixodaros son of Hekatomnōs, to the Xanthians and Tloans and Pinarans and Kandaudeans a tenth.

Similar cases are found in XT. The definite article is also omitted in the Greek Aśoka inscriptions (Kandahar I and III), and here too its absence may reflect the substrate language, whether that is Prakrit,²⁹ which lacks the article, or Aramaic, which has a suffixed article (the ‘emphatic particle’), which might not have been interpreted as a definite article by Greek speakers (Gallavotti 1959: 125). The article is omitted too in papyri from Roman Judaea (Lewis 1989: 13–16). It may be significant that the use of articles, definite or indefinite, is one area where interference between languages has been detected by linguists working on modern languages.³⁰

However, the argument for interference in this case is not wholly compelling. Similar patterns of omission are found in Greek inscriptions from Hellenistic Caria.³¹ Perhaps Carian Greek is itself influenced by the Anatolian substrate language in this respect, but it is also possible that the lack of a definite article is a regional feature.

6. Nomenclature

In the ancient world it is not uncommon for a person to have two names belonging to two different languages and societies. Sometimes the two names have corresponding meanings, a pattern attested for Greek and Phoenician and for Greek and Egyptian.³² A similar example from the Lycian–Greek data is the Greek name Apollodotus, attested in the XT as corresponding to Lycian *Na-trbbiyumi*, which probably means ‘given by Apollo’ (*Natr*=Apollo, **(p.210)** *piye* = *give*).³³ Contrast N302, in which the Lycian name *Mahane-pi[yemihe]*, which means ‘given by the gods’ (~Theodotus), comes out in Greek as ΜΑΝΑΙΙΜ[Ι]Σ. A more difficult case is *TL* i. 25a, where the name ΙΙΟΠΙΑΞ, which means ‘handle of a shield’ in Greek, corresponds to *χssbezv* in Lycian, which may have had the same meaning.³⁴

The appearance of a name in two such versions has linguistic and social implications: on the level of language, it presumably implies a level of bilingualism on behalf of the owner, or at least on behalf of the person who translated the name; on the level of social presentation, the situation is more complex: on the one hand, since to have a name which is significant in a language is an indication that one belongs to the culture represented by that language, to have a double name with corresponding forms in two languages may suggest the assumption of a sort of double identity, where authority is not granted to either of the cultures involved; but on the other hand, in a bilingual community where one language is more prestigious than the other, speakers whose original name is in the less prestigious language might adopt a second name in the more prestigious language out of social pressure. And the latter scenario perhaps provides a better model for the Lycian data.

7. Filiation Formulae

The usual way of expressing ‘X son of Y’ in Lycian is: ‘X Y(GEN) *tideimi*’, where *tideimi* means ‘child’; it seems to be a participle meaning ‘suckled’ (FdX 6. 110); Lycian has a separate word for daughter (*kbatru*), but no separate word for ‘son’ is extant.³⁵ Notice that in Lycian it is quite common to use patronymic adjectives with the suffix *-ahi/-ehi-*, as in N320. 9: *qñturahahñ tideimi* = son of Qñturahe/i.³⁶ This rude that Lycian expresses ‘son of’ by a formula with *tideimi* is not quite invariable. There are a few cases where (p.211) a simple genitive seems to be used, but the proportion is small; I count 49 cases with *tideimi*, and only 6 without (about 11 per cent).³⁷

Now to turn to the Greek, we would expect Greek speakers in Lycia to express filiation by the genitive of the father’s name, without using any word for ‘son’. This is what we find in monolingual Greek inscriptions from Lycia collected in TL ii. The exceptions are inscriptions in the Roman period, which often express filiation of Roman citizens with υἱός, imitating the Latin *filius*.³⁸

Hence in bilinguals we would expect to find a filiation formula with the ‘son’ word in Lycian corresponding to a filiation formula without the ‘son’ word in Greek. This is what we find in TL i. 25 (a non-sepulchral inscription, from the theatre at Tlos):

(8a) χssbezv krup[sseh] tideimi se purihime[teh] tuhes
Xssbeze Krupsse’s son and Purihimete’s nephew,

corresponding to:

(8b) Πόρπαξ Θρύψιος Πυριβάτους ἀδελάιδου ς.
Porpax, son of Thrupsis and nephew of Puribatēs.

The same combination of filiation formulae is found in TL i. 56:

(9) ebēñnē prññawu me ti [p]rññawatē | iktta hlah tideimi.
This building and [sc, me] built Ikta son of Hla.
Ἰκτας Λᾶ Αντιφελλίτης τουτίτό μνη μαα]ργάτατο.
Iktas son of Las of Antiphellos made this monument.

However, two other patterns are found also. First, in some cases Greek uses a word for ‘son’ (υἱός), as in TL i. 117

(10) ebeiya erawaziya me ti prññawatē sideriy a p[ar]m[ēnah] tideimi		
This tomb	made	Sideriya Parmenah’s child.
τὸ μνημα τόδ’	ἐποίησατο	Σιδάριος Παρμένοντος υἱός.
This tomb	made	Sidarios Parmenon’s son.

(p.212) This pattern is also found twice in XT.³⁹ Second, in *TL i. 6*, and apparently also *TL i. 45* (a non-sepulchral inscription), we find filiation in Lycian expressed by a genitive of the father's name alone, without the 'son' word, and the Greek expresses it in the same way; in *TL i. 6* the name and patronymic *pulenyda mulliyeseh*⁴⁰ corresponds to Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσίος and the name and patronymic *da-para pulenydah* corresponds to Λαπάρας Ἀπολλ[ω]νίδου. And in *TL i. 45* *pixe[s]ere kat[amla]h...* in Lycian corresponds to Ἰλιξώδαρος Ἐκ[α]τό[μνου] in Greek. The only pattern which does not occur is that of a filiation formula without *tideimi* in Lycian corresponding to a filiation formula with υἱός in Greek.

It thus becomes apparent that in the bilingual inscriptions the two languages tend to agree more often than they disagree on whether or not they use the word for 'child' or 'son' in the filiation formula; either they both have it, or they both leave it out. I would like to suggest that 'interference' has taken places in two directions. In *TL i. 6* and *TL i. 45* the normal Lycian filiation pattern has been altered in the context of the normal Greek filiation pattern. In *TL i. 117* and XT the Greek filiation pattern accommodates itself to the Lycian.⁴¹

8. Word Order

We would expect to find interference at the level of syntax. Our understanding of this type of interference is slight, largely because we know so little about Lycian syntax. The only area of syntax **(p.213)** where comparison between the two languages is feasible is word order.⁴² To speak first of the Lycian, we have to distinguish the evidence of sepulchral inscriptions from that of XT. In surviving sepulchral inscriptions a regular word order is found: OVS+dative phrase: first the object (the memorial), then the verb ('made'), then the subject, then, in some cases, a dative phrase expressing the persons for whom the tomb has been made; the conjunction *me* usually intervenes between O and V, combined with the enclitic accusative pronoun and a particle.⁴³ So *TL i. 23*

(11) ebēññē ñtatu [m]ē ti | pr[ñ]n[aw]atē e[lp]eti

This tomb [*mē* (=conjunction)+ nasalization (=accusative pronoun)+ *ti* (=particle)] made Elpetis,

That is not quite invariable: an interesting subgroup have the order SV followed by patronymic of S, with in some cases a direct object or an indirect object sandwiched between SV and patronymic.⁴⁴

But the order OVS is by far the most common.

The evidence of XT gives a different impression of Lycian word order. Here the verb tends to come near the start of the clause, preceded only by conjunctions, pronouns, and particles. Relative order of subject and object is difficult to judge, since the subject of the verbs is more often than not understood from the context and unexpressed, but both VSO and VOS are attested. The absence of the direct object at the start of sentences in XT strongly suggests that the word order found in sepulchral inscriptions is a special form which marks the object (the tomb) as the topic of the inscriptions (see Garrett 1991).

(p.214) It may be observed that the patterns of word order we have found in Lycian inscriptions are unexpected in a member of the Anatolian branch of Indo-European; the order we might expect is rather verb-final, as in Hittite. The possibility suggests itself that the freer order of classical Lycian is the result of interference with another language; perhaps the freer word order of Greek is a factor here, though we would not expect the result of interference with Greek to yield the verb-initial order that we find in XT.⁴⁵

To turn to Greek word order in the bilingual inscriptions, in the sepulchral inscriptions the Greek order is more variable. In *TL* i. 56 Greek word order is SOV + dative phrase, while in Lycian it is OVS:

(12) ebēññē prññāwu me ti [p]rññawatē iktta hlah tideimi

This house built Ikta Hla's child

hrppi ladi ehbi se tideime ehbiye.

for his wife and his children.

Ἰκτας Λᾶ Αντιφελλίτης τουτ' ἐτ μνη μαή ργάσατο αὐτῶ [ι τε] Καὶ

γυναικίκα τέκνοισι.

Iktas son of Las of Antiphellos built this monument for himself and his wife and children.

In *TL* i. 23 the Greek word order is SV, with the object omitted, and the dative phrase divided between *ἐαυτῶ* before V and the rest of it afterwards. In *TL* i. 6 it is OVS, that is to say in these cases Greek and Lycian word order are exactly the same:

(13) τοῦ το τ' ο μνη μα ἐργάσαντο Ἀπολλωνίδης Μολλίσιος Κα' ἰ Λαπάρας

| Ἀπολ-λ[ω]νίδου Πυριμάτιος ο' ἰ Κεῖλοι ἐπ' ἰ ταῖ ς γυναιξιν ταῖ ς ἑαοτῶ |

Κα] τοῖ [ς] ἐγγυοισι.

This monument built Apollonides son of Mollisis and Laparas | son of Apollonides, family members of Purimatis, for their wives | and their children.

ebēññē ñtatā me ne prññwātē pu1enyda mulliyeseh se dapara puleny-dah puri | himetehe pr[ñ]neziyebi hrppi lada epttehe se tideime.

This monument (?) built Pulenyda son of Mulliyese and Dapara son of Pulenyda | family members of Puritmete for their wives and children.

Needless to say, it is not possible to use these data to prove that **(p.215)** the OVS order has been imitated in the Greek, because the tomb, being the topic, is naturally placed at the start of the sentence.⁴⁶

For non-sepuchral data we can turn to XT. In general, Greek and Lycian word orders tend to correspond, as in line 30:

(14) se-iy-ehbiy-aitē tasa	mere ebette teteri Arñnas
καὶ ἐποιήσαντο ὅρκους	Ξάνθιοι
And they made oaths sey-epewetlṁmēi Arñnai. καὶ οἱ περίοι. and the neighbours.	Xanthians

In the initial cluster in the Lycian, *iy* means ‘to him’, *ehbiy* is the possessive pronoun ‘their’, referring to the oaths, and *aitē* is ‘they made’. The Lycian *mere ebette* (‘for this law’, apparently a neuter plural noun) is untranslated in the Greek (although it is reflected in the Aramaic). In another case, in line 14, both languages have a VSO word order:

(15) se-deli-ñtātē : teteri ; sey-epewetlṁmēi : hrṁmada : ttaraha : ...
And gave the citizens and those living around land (?) of the city ...
Καὶ ἔδωκαν ἡ πόλις ἀγρόν ... And gave the city (SUBJ) land ...

In both texts the word order stays the same despite the fact that the Greek translation has shortened the Lycian considerably: ‘citizens and those living around’ becomes ‘the city’; ‘land (?) of the city’ becomes ‘land’. In both texts the object is expanded by additional clauses (introduced by conjunctions *me* and *se* in Lycian, relative clauses in Greek), so the postponement of the object makes logical sense, but was in neither case obligatory.

What these parallels show is that in Greek word order often follows Lycian in XT.⁴⁷ What they do not show is that these correspondences are to be explained as the result of interference between **(p.216)** the languages. It is much more likely that these parallels in word order are generated within the context of the production of the inscription by translators who consciously seek to preserve cross-language syntactic patterns. This process I shall explore further in the next section.

9. Aesthetic Symmetry in Translation

In this section I shall argue that some of the inscriptions we have been considering reflect a conscious effort to aim at symmetry between the two texts. Consider, for example, the epitaph TL i. 117.⁴⁸

(16) ebeiya erawaziya me ti prñawatē sideriya p[ar]m[ēnah] tideimirt'o
μνημα τόδ' ἐποίησατο Σιδάριος Παρένοντος υἱς
[h]rppi etli e[h]bi se ladi ehbi se tideimi pubieleye.

ἐαυτῶ καὶ τῇ γυ[να]ῖK'ι Kα'ι υἱῶ Πυβιάλῃι

The word order is similar in both languages, but this may be determined by the natural tendency for the topic to come early in the sentence.⁴⁹ More interesting is the fact that *tideimi* corresponds to υἱός in both lines, and is in both cases in the same position relative to the phrase in which it immediately occurs.⁵⁰

Other cases of symmetry between the two languages can be found **(p.217)** in XT. First, consider the most conspicuous part, the opening clause:

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(17) êke:	Trm̃misñ:	χssaθrapazate:	Pigesere:	Katamlah	: tideimi.
ἔπε	Λυκίας	ξαδράπης ἐγένετο	Πιξώδαρος	Ἐκατόμνω	υός.

An unusual syntactic or stylistic feature in the Greek part of the inscription is the construction of the opening sentence, which is expressed with a ‘when’ clause; in most decrees in Greek specifications of time are expressed with a genitive absolute, or a genitive noun and participle depending on ἐπί.⁵¹ In fact, there are no genitive absolutes in the Greek text of XT at all, nor any participles. This trend may be another effect of translation, because as far as we can tell there are few participles in the Lycian either. Furthermore, if the Greek of the opening sentence is abnormal in beginning with a ‘when’ clause, it seems a good bet that this syntactic structure is imitated from the Lycian, where the opening sentence starts with an exactly parallel *νke* clause. This is one more case where we can use Carian Greek as a control: in the Greek text of a decree from Mylasa, from roughly the same period (367/6 BC, 361/60 BC, 355/4 BC), the use of participles, particularly genitives, is found in the usual high frequency that we would expect in Greek decrees.⁵² The obvious way to interpret the opening line of the Greek text of XT is to see it as translationese, the work of a barely competent translator slavishly following the Lycian; but we could also think of it as part of a strategy that Greek and Lycian texts should be in a relationship of formal symmetry, just as the physical texts are in symmetry on either face of the stone.

Formal symmetry of a different sort seems to take precedence over strict translation at XT 18–19:

(p.218)

(18a) se-i-pibiti uhazata ada IMOO ėti tllaḫñta Arñna
And Arnna gives [*pibiti*] him [-i-] year by year [*uhazata*] 18 adas for
[*entiẽ*]payment [*tllaḫnta*].

Lycian order is thus VOS. The Greek translation uses a passive construction:

(18b) καὶ δίδοται κατ’ ἑκάστον ἐναυτοῖν τρία ἡμιμναὶ ἀ παρὰ τῆς
πόλεως.
And is given each year three half-mnas from the city.

There are differences: the Greek does not translate the word ‘payment’; the measurement has been converted; and the Greek has a passive verb where the Lycian has the active. But the word order is symmetrical, with the prepositional phrase at the end of the line corresponding to the subject Arñna in Lycian. To put it another way, for this translator the order of the main constituents in the sentence is a higher priority than exact imitation of the syntax. The Aramaic may be worth a look here (lines 12–14):

(19) W-ŠNH B-ŠNH MN MT’ YHYBN KSP [M]NH HD W-PLG
And year by year from city are given money mina of silver and half.

The phrase ‘from city are given’ seems *prima facie* closer to the Greek than the Lycian; it is unclear whether this is to be explained as a coincidence, or whether there is a direct relationship between the Greek and Aramaic texts.

10. Conclusion

Much remains uncertain about the language situation in Lycia during the periods we have been considering. Lycian was probably the main language spoken at all stages. Greek went from being the language of Lycia’s imperial rulers in the mid-fifth century to an élite language used by Lycian dynasts and aristocrats at the end of the fifth century and the beginning of the fourth, and finally by the second half of the fourth century it seems to have been used for administrative purposes. In these circumstances we would expect some mutual influence between the two languages. For long-term influence there is little evidence, except for a few verbal borrowings from Greek into Lycian. For short-term interference the epigraphical sources are pretty uninformative as well.

What we do have **(p.219)** evidence for is a special sort of interference: influence of Lycian syntactic patterns on Greek in the context of translation, e.g. in respect of the preposition *hrppi*, of filiation formulae, and of word order. It is possible that the Lycian text in these translations is influenced by Greek syntax in some respects as well, but this question cannot be answered until we have a better understanding of Lycian grammar, syntax, and style.

Notes:

(1) There is a Carian inscription from Charopia-Tasyaka, just to the west of Telmessus (*TL* i. 151 = D15 in Adiego-Lajara 1993); Kaunian like Carian: Herodotus 1. 171. 6. A coin which used to be thought to represent the Lycian name Erbbina written with two Carian signs (Masson 1974) is now analysed differently (Adiego-Lajara 1998).

(2) *Geog.* 13. 4. 7: τέτταρσι δέ γλώτταις ἐχρῶντο οἱ Κιβυράται, τῇ Πισιδικῇ, τῇ Σολύμῳ, τῇ Ἑλληνίδι, τῇ Λυδῷ. τῆς Λυδῷ δέ οὐδ’ ἔχνος ἐστία ἐν Ἀνδία ‘The Kiburatae used four languages, Pisidian, that of the Solymi, Greek, and that of the Lydians; but there is not even a trace of the language of the Lydians in Lydia.’ For Pisidian, see Drew-Bear (1987) and Brixhe (1988).

(3) Before Laroche, the standard treatment was the survey of Neumann (1969). For syntax, mention should be made of the studies of Andrew Garrett (1992; 1994). The issues addressed in Craig Melchert’s lexicon (Melchert 1993) go beyond lexicography.

(4) *TL* i. 35 may date from after Alexander; see Bryce (1986) 49-50.

(5) Claude Brixhe (1993) has observed that whereas the Greek of Carta shows clear signs of influence from the ionic dialect, the Greek of Lycia shows no such traces.

- (6) Greek inscriptions from Xanthos: see below; from Limura: Wörrle (1991) 203-17.
- (7) For a historical survey see Keen (1998); Hornblower (1982) 119-21.
- (8) The prefix 'N' here refers to the system of enumeration in Neumann (1979).
- (9) For the date see Bryce (1986).
- (10) e.g. the epitaph *TL* ii. 50. from Telmessus. One problem in assessing the Volume of Greek inscriptions is that Kalinka's edition of the Greek material (*TL* ii) is geographically incomplete.
- (11) Bryce (1986) 52-3 nn. 14, 21.
- (12) See Lemaire (1992).
- (13) (a): Letoon inv. no. 5743: Bryce {1986} S3; Dupont-Sommer (1979) 173-4; (b) *FdX* 9. 196.
- (14) There are two Lydian-Greek, a few Sidetic-Greek, and three Carian-Greek inscriptions, including the recently published Kaunos bilingual (see Frei and Marek 1998).
- (15) For the epigram see Ceccarelli (1996).
- (16) Le Roy (1987); Keen (1998).
- (17) Collected in Friedrich (1932) 128-40.
- (18) See on initial /st-/ below and on final verbs.
- (19) For a case where the best explanation for an incongruity between Greek and Lycian versions of a text may be a misunderstanding by the stonemason see below, p. 208.
- (20) Houwink ten Cate (1961) 7; Rhodes: Kretschmer (1940). Notice that inherited initial /st-/ does not survive in Lycian; see Melchert (1994) 304-5.
- (21) Dissenting voices: Melchert (1993) 4; Starke (1990) 298; Carruba (1974).
- (22) In the Aramaic text the equivalent here is also etymologically a nominalized adjective, *nqωā*
meaning 'pure'.
- (23) Laroche (1979) 68; Melchert (1993) 3.
- (24) For the etymology see Melchert (1993) 56-7; Brixhe (1999a) 88.

(25) Greek word independently in Greek inscriptions: Wörrle (1995) 391–2.

(26) Brixhe (1999a) 86–9 thinks that the Lycian is first.

(27) So Kammenhuber (1955) 114–15, discussing the Hittite version of the Hattic myth of the Moon that Fell from Heaven, shows how in Hittite translations of Hattic there is an abnormal use of *ser* to mean ‘upon’. Rapallo (1976: 234–5) believed that the use of the preposition in Hipponax is influenced by Lycian or other Anatolian models, e.g. 42. 1 M: †τέαρε... †δεύειε τ᾽*η* ν ἐπί Σμύρνης Κττ. But the evidence does not really support that claim, as Blomquist (1979) pointed out.

(28) Kammenhuber (1955) 114–15 show show in Hittite translations of Hattic there is a tendency to omit the usual sentence connectives *mi*, *ma*, *ia*. Muhly (1972) 203 n. 2 suggests that a use of Akkadian sentence connectives manifested in Ugaritic correspondence might be influenced by Mycenaean Greek, drawing on J. Nougayrol (1968: 83 n. 4); Hurrian influence on Hittite with respect to sentence particles has been postulated by Vanstiphout (1971).

(29) On the relationship between Greek and Prakrit original in Kandahar **III**, see Schlumberger and Benveniste (1968).

(30) Thus, Berk-Seligson (1986: 328), points to the case of Hebrew–Spanish code-switching, where Spanish articles tend to be omitted because Hebrew lacks an indefinite article.

(31) Rapallo (1976: 207) notices that it is omitted also from divine names in Hipponax.

(32) For Greek and Phoenician see e.g. KAI 54; for Greek and Egyptian see Calderini {1941–2) and, most recently, Quaegebeur (1992). See also the analysis in respect of Seleucid texts in Sherwin-White (1983).

(33) For the analysis of the name see *FdX* 6. 61; Keen (1998) 199–201.

(34) The Lycian may be prior: see Laroche (1979) 61; for an analogous case in Egyptian, Derda (1986).

(35) Mention should also be made of the word *axati* (*axuti?*), which Neumann (1993) thinks could mean ‘offspring’. On Lycian vocabulary for filiation see now Brixhe (1999a) 84–6.

(36) For the construction see Neumann (1982); Houwink ten Cate (1961) 55–6, 59–61. There are two examples in *TL* i. 25, where a woman is described as *urtaqiyahñ* kbatru se *priyenubehñ* tuhesñ ‘daughter of Urtaqi(ya) and niece of Priyenube’. The final *-ñ* is the accusative marker.

(37) There is a good survey of all such cases in Neumann (1993). Some are complicated. For example, there are a few cases where I originally analysed: name+genitive of father's name+title, as in *TL i. 38 iyetruxle : hurttuweteh : wazasa*, where *wazasa* is an indeterminate title. So this would mean 'Iyetruxle son of Hurttuwete, the *wazasa*'. But Neumann (1993) thinks it more likely that in this case the genitive *hurttuweteh* goes with *wasaza*, so it means something like: 'Iyetruxle, the *wasaza* of Hurttuweteh'.

(38) Examples include *TL ii. 1; 24. 2; 28. 3; 129. 4; 138. 6; 139. 6; 141. 13; 144. 6*.

(39) Also *N311. 1* (the Greek is a poem).

(40) On the name *mullyesi* see Neumann (1978) 128.

(41) One reason why Lycian uses the word for 'child' suggests itself. In Lycian inscriptions people are often specified as 'nephew' of someone, as in *TL i, 25* cited above: *xssbezv krup[sseh] tideimi se purihime[teh]tuhes*. Similarly, later on in the same inscription at *TL i. 25. 7*, where Tiseusembra/Tikeukvpre is daughter of Ortakia and niece of Prianoba: *urtaqiyahñ kbatru | se priyenubehñ tuhesñ* (notice the genitive adjectives). Some scholars think that this formula is evidence for matrilineal social structure, the uncle in question always being the mother's brother (for matrilinear social structure see Brycc 1986). At any rate, in view of the practice of specifying someone as a nephew of someone else in Lycia, it becomes clear that to express filiation in Lycian through a genitive of the father's name alone might have been ambiguous.

(42) Similar patterns can be observed in Palmyrene inscriptions from the Roman period, e.g. SVO order in both languages in *PAT 0260*.

(43) To return to the dominant OVS word order, Garrett (1992), esp. 203, analyses this word order as consisting in O+the conjunction *ma* + an enclitic pronoun, not always written, and he suggests that this construction is used to mark 'both discourse topics and contrastive focus'. We see this in *TL i. 23*. But there are some cases where the enclitic pronoun is not written, as in *TL i. 117: ebeiya erawaziya me ti prñnawatv sideriya p[ar]m[vnah]tideimi*. Here *me* stands for *mv*.

(44) SVP ('P' stands for 'patronymic') in *TL i. 20. 1-2* (SVPOD) ('D' stands for 'indirect object'); *TL i. 62* (SVPD); *TL i. 63* (SVPOD); *TL i. 98* (SVPD), *77. i. 99* (SVPOD), *TL i. 116*; in *TL i. 28* the order is OSVP. Two examples of 'sandwich' constructions: in *TL i. 27. 1 mekesittene ep[] tuwete atli ehbi skkuliya tideimi* 'Mekesttene built this for himself the son of Skkuliya' the order is SVDP (so Neumann 1993); in *N311* (see *FdX 9. 159*) *erb]bina-yv-nv ubete xruwata ertvmi [xer]igah tideimi sey-upvñah* 'Erbina dedicates an offering (?) to Artemis, Kheriga's child and Upena's', the order is SVODP.

(45) I owe this observation to Anna Davies.

(46) So in the Palmyrene bilingual epitaphs collected in *PAT* the word or words for ‘tomb’ regularly come first in both Palmyrene Aramaic and Greek texts; the word order is regularly OVS. With respect to inscriptions beginning with the word ‘statue’ (*slm*) Swain (1993: 158) makes the observation that word-order patterns without the word for ‘statue’ in first position betray the influence of Greek, and are later.

(47) The Creek does not always follow the order blindly. Sometimes variation was necessary, as in line 36. The Lycian has *χttade-me-y-ν like*, which amounts to ‘If anyone [*tike*] damages [*first word*] it [?]’. Laroche thinks *mey* means ‘if’, though Melchert seems to analyse it as the conjunction *me*+the pronoun *i*, so that it is another case of parataxis. The Greek has ἄν δέ τις μετακινήσῃ: no other order was possible. (So with the relative in 16.) Another exception concerned relative clauses: Greek fronts a general relative clause which in Lycian, expressed by the pronoun *kṃme*, usually comes later, as in lines 22, 35–6, 20, and probably 17–18.

(48) In Garrett’s analysis, there is an unwritten enclitic pronoun after the *me*, and this ‘left-shifting’ implies some sort of emphasizing. (Garrett 1992: 203). And perhaps one could say that the Greek word order tends to foreground the noun *μνημα* also.

(49) See Wörrle 1995) 397–8.

(50) Contrast the Greek of *TL* i. 56:

ebvñnv prññawu me ti [p]rñnawatv | iktta hlah tideimi hrppi ladi ehbi | se tideme ehbiye se iye ti edi tice mvtn | me ne qasttu vni qlahi ebiyehi se wedri wehñtezi.

ἸΚτας Λα Αντφλλίτς τουτι τῖ μνημα ἡργάσατο αὐτῶ

[ι|τε]Και γυναικ Καῖ

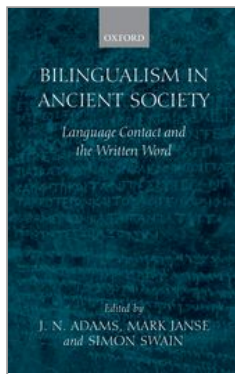
τέκνοις ἐὰν δέ τις ἀδικήσῃ ἢ ἀγοράσῃ[ι]το μνημα, ἡ Λητῶ

ατν | ἐπιτ[ρί]ψ[ε]ι.

Here we find two features that do not reflect interference with Lycian; filiation formula with simple genitive (where the Lycian text has *tideimi*); and SOV word order.

(51) A parallel case has now come to light in the new Carian—Greek bilingual from Kaunos: see Frei and Marek (1998) 4; Hajnal (1997) 146; the Greek ἐπί formula seems to correspond to a statement that Hipposthenes was (s-?)*δruul* =δημιουργός.

(52) Mylasa: Tod (1946–8) no. 138. That goes for the Carian inscriptions collected in Hornblower (1982: 364 ff.) also. Although the construction of the opening clause of the Greek seems to imitate the Lycian, it remains possible that the idea of beginning a decree by linking its declaration to the time when such-and-such a person assumed such-and-such an office is one that this inscription (and perhaps other Lycian decrees) may have owed to a Greek model. The Aramaic text was not the model here, since its opening is different, with a specification of time by the month of the reign of the king of Persia, followed (probably) by a statement that Pixodaros declared the content of the decree, with no reference to Hieron, Apollodotus, or Artemelis. In this, as in many other ways, the process of interference may have been two-way.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Bilingualism in Roman Egypt

PFNELOPE FEWSTER

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines bilingualism in Roman Egypt from a historical rather than linguistic perspective. In particular, the problems of functioning in a society where administration was officially confined to the language of the minority are discussed to see how far up or down the social hierarchy individuals were likely to remain monolingual (that is, at what points translation standardly took place), and also to look briefly at the cultural implications of language use and choice. An understanding of how far Rome's subjects were prepared to use the language of their conquerors, and in what ways they did so, may contribute to the ongoing debates about cultural change and resistance in the Roman empire.

Keywords: bilingualism, Roman Egypt, language use, language choice, social hierarchy, cultural change, resistance

1. Introduction

THE Roman Empire was very efficient at simplifying problems. There were too few soldiers and administrators to govern an empire, so the Romans persuaded their richer subjects to do some of the work for them. Likewise the Roman rulers neither spoke nor really concerned themselves with the countless languages of their subjects. In fact, language was not seen as a difficulty. When the Egyptian priest Chairemon wrote an account in Greek of Egyptian hieroglyphs, he was not trying to help daily communications. Rather, he was using the weird and wonderful signs to demonstrate the supposedly arcane and other-worldly wisdom of Egyptian religion.¹ All across the empire most people spoke only a language other than that of their rulers. Somehow the Romans succeeded in simplifying this diverse linguistic map so that in most provinces all the information from and about their subjects—tax and census returns, petitions, contracts, and so on—came to them in either Greek or Latin. Bilingualism must often have been a key to the success of the Roman Empire and the fact that Roman administrators could virtually act as though there were only two languages is a sign of their ability to integrate provincial élites.

Earlier versions of this paper were given at the bilingualism conference in Reading, and in Manchester and Oxford. I am grateful for the many helpful comments which I received then. I am also grateful to Margaret Atkins, Peter Glare, John Ray, and Dorothy Thompson for their help and advice, and above all to Jim Adams and Simon Swain for their patience in waiting for me to submit the completed draft.

Bilingualism is a lively subject, both in linguistics and, particularly in recent times, in classics. Its importance for societies in a **(p.221)** multilingual empire needs no explanation. What is generally a matter of debate, however, is how to define bilingualism. For most people, the instinctive understanding of the term is that it implies native fluency in, and more or less identical control over, two or more languages.² On such a definition true bilinguals are relatively rare and would always have been so, and some linguists have preferred to call such people 'ambilinguals'.³ Hoffmann, for example, prefers a spectrum in which you can see the balance between ability and use. A 'balanced bilingual' would have more or less equal ability in both languages and use them in comparable areas. Generally, however, bilinguals reserve languages for particular uses, sometimes only having a very limited sphere in which a second language is used. Hoffmann gives a list of bilingual 'profiles' to illustrate the range of possible balances.⁴ They are drawn from contemporary experience but, as I hope to show later, even distinctly modern examples, such as the Japanese airline pilot who uses English purely to communicate air traffic commands, may be helpful. Oddly enough, his type of bilingualism might have been very common in the ancient world. What I aim to do in this paper is to examine bilingualism, thus broadly defined, in Roman Egypt. My aims are historical rather than linguistic. In particular, I want to look at the problems of functioning in a society where administration was officially confined to the language of the minority, to see how far up or down the social hierarchy individuals were likely to remain monolingual (that is, at what points translation standardly took place), and also to look briefly at the cultural implications of language use and choice. An understanding of how far Rome's subjects were prepared to use the language of their conquerors, and in what ways they did so, may contribute to the ongoing debates about cultural change and resistance in the empire.

2. A Mixture of Greek and Egyptian at a Village Temple: The Narmouthis Ostraca

To begin with, we may look at an example from an archive of some 1, 500 ostraca. These were found in a village temple in the area to the **(p.222)** west of the Nile valley called the Fayum. This area was extended and improved by both the Ptolemies and the Romans, and because of the high number of new settlers was relatively Hellenized. It has also provided us with a lot of evidence from villages which were deserted in the later Roman period and have remained in the desert ever since. Narmouthis (modern name Medinet Madi) is one such village. During the excavations by an Italian team early last century, a large number of ostraca were found in the temple of Isis. The originals, which were stored at Cairo, seem to have been lost but reasonably good photographs remain. So far, however, only about 170 ostraca have been published, amongst which is a collection of school texts written mostly in demotic Egyptian (*O. dent, Medinet Madi* 1).⁵

One text (no. 27, ex. 1) is particularly interesting. It is the longest of this collection and a transliteration and translation follows:

(1)

1. *t3y h3.t-sp 9 3ntnn tpy 3h.t*
2. *sw 26 tpy pr.t sw 5 h3t-sp {32}*
3. *32.t p3 rmt kmy š3' -ir.w 3bd*
4. *275 t3y hrw 15 hn-*
5. *w mtw.k ir hrw 7 -iw nty ir wnw.*
6. *t 170 iw grh mtry ir.k qt-*
7. *y hr p3 rh iw bn iw mdt hn*
8. *h3t.k m-s3 p3 rh α*
9. *mtw.k ir hrw 7 i.ir*
10. *wnw.t 170 iw grh mtry n iw.k sh*
11. *hr n3 mdt p3y 30 ειτος*
12. *ky-1E0F;d iw.f hpr i.ir, k ir μοιρωλογος*
13. *p3 χρονοκρατωρ n ω' rmt r.ir.k*
14. *m-s3 n3 ht.w wn ir.w r.r.k irm n3 nty r.r.k*
15. *hrw (n irm n3 nty ir.k (r) dit hpr.w n ky-dd*
16. *sl r-bnr iw-hr p3 100 ειτος α*
17. *iw nty hn p3 rh irm n3 ειτος*
18. *iw nty i.ir.hr.k r-hm nty*
19. *sh hry (n iw.k mtr-*
20. *y*

From Year 9 of Antoninus, Thoth, day 26, until day 5, year 32 in Egyptian reckoning, until 275 months are completed, take for yourself 15 days (in a month) and spend 7 days, which makes 170 hours of night and day, in dedicating yourself to study without there being anything in your heart except study, and spend 7 days, which **(p.223)** makes 170 hours of night and day, in writing the affairs of these 30 precepts. Another phrase: if you happen to predict the fate of a man by the ruling sign, you will be paid afterwards in money which was owed to you, and that which is your due today, and that which you will earn. Another phrase. Circulate the 100 precepts of year 1 which are in the study of knowledge and the years which are before you according to what was written above. You will bring testimony.

The curiosity value of this text should be apparent immediately. It is a standardly irritating piece of moralizing, probably dictated to some hapless trainee temple-scribes. It is written mostly in demotic Egyptian, but dotted here and there are Greek words and numbers written in the Greek alphabet.

So we have *εἶτρος* three times ('precept': 11. 11, 16, and 17),⁶ *μοιρωλόγος* ('predicting fate': 1. 12), and *χρονοκράωρ* ('ruling sign': 1. 13). What is striking about the last word is first, that it has the demotic definite article *p3*, and second, that the scribe had great difficulty in fitting it in owing to writing in two different directions. He was writing from right to left as is the practice for demotic but wrote the Greek from left to right. Unfortunately, he underestimated the space needed to fit the Greek word in and so reached the *p3* before finishing and had to squash the last letters in above the line. It is also worth noticing *3ntnn*, the demotic rendition of Antoninus. Demotic Egyptian was perfectly capable of putting Greek words into its own script when it wanted to, though rather selectively.

This phenomenon of inserting words in the Greek script into an Egyptian text, unknown elsewhere, is common in the published group of ostraca from Narmouthis and, it seems, in other demotic texts in this archive. So, for example, we have:

(2) OMM 714: *p3y-f κληρονόμος* 'his heir':

OMM 412: $\frac{h}{n}$ *p3 ἀπολογισμός* 'in the rendering of accounts';

OMM 1370: *h3.t-sp 16 θεοῦΤ ραιανού*
'year 16 of the god Trajan';

OMM 353: *w3h-f ἱρ ἀτικῖν [=ἀδικεῖν]* 'he acted unjustly'.⁷

Apart from their individual curiosity value, the general question is what kind of bilingualism these texts represent. Bresciani talks **(p.224)** of a 'profoundly mixed culture' and of 'cultural bilingualism' as illustrated by these ostraca.⁸ However, these texts are unique. No other comparable documents survive from Roman Egypt. They show that some temple scribes who can write Egyptian both know some Greek words and also can write them in the Greek script, but what more can we say? Overall, there is clearly an important level of bilingualism at this modest village temple, but I would want to be more cautious, I think, than Bresciani. To place these ostraca in their context, we shall need to look at the other evidence for bilingualism, including, importantly, the Greek ostraca of the Narmouthis archive. First it will be necessary to say a few words about the languages and scripts of Roman Egypt and the combination of opportunities and problems that they raise for studying bilingualism.

3. The Languages and Scripts of Roman Egypt

There were various languages in use in Roman Egypt. That with the highest status was Greek. As elsewhere in the Eastern Empire, it was the language of administration and hence of ambition. It had been introduced on a large scale by the Macedonian conquerors of Egypt and was by the time of the Roman annexation in 30 BC well entrenched. The Romans were generally unwilling to deal in any other language except Latin, which was used above all in connection with the army and probably also at the prefect's residence in Alexandria and in his company (or that of the other Roman equestrian officials in Egypt, many of whom may have been Latin speakers).⁹ One Coptic scholar believes that Latin words were actually a standard feature of daily Egyptian language and that Latin was thus in fairly general use, at least in the later Roman period.¹⁰ On the whole, however, it is believed that its use was fairly restricted. Other minor languages include Nubian (used to the south of Egypt), Carian, and Aramaic. The oases presumably came into contact with nomads speaking various languages. All of these matter, but our evidence for them is very limited.

What I am primarily interested in is Egyptian-Greek bilingualism. We are unusually fortunate (compared with those studying **(p.225)** most other Roman provinces) in having a significant amount of material written in the majority language, Egyptian. In fact we are spoilt for choice because Egypt has left us with not just one script, but four: hieroglyphic, hieratic, demotic, and Coptic. Demotic is the most important for the time-span at which I am looking, the first three centuries AD, but all four scripts deserve some attention.¹¹ The hieroglyphic script is the oldest and was still in use in the Roman period as a religious monumental script, using an archaic form of the language. Hieratic, which is simply hieroglyphs written quickly and cursively, was a script developed for non-monumental writing. It was still in use in the Roman period but very rarely: its functions had been largely superseded by demotic.

Demotic is the name given both to a script and to a particular stage in the Egyptian language. It is a cursive script, derived from hieroglyphs but significantly more distant from these than hieratic. It manages to use far fewer signs, though still using a mixture of ideograms, syllabic, and alphabetic signs, by allowing many signs to have more than one phonetic value. This will have made life easier for ancient scribes but not for modern scholars—a significant fact when one considers the relative slowness of publication of demotic texts compared with Greek ones. It was developed in the seventh century BC and became the standard documentary script in the Persian and Ptolemaic periods.

In the Roman Principate, the use of demotic became much more limited. The Romans, unlike the Ptolemies, generally refused to accept documents written in Egyptian and thus by the second century AD demotic is standardly used only in tax receipts (mostly from the Thebaid in the south of Egypt) and for temple purposes.¹² Thus, as Bagnall points out, for much of the Roman period most Egyptians had no access to writing in their own language.¹³ Village scribes would only be able to write Greek and so, whether it was a petition or a letter to an errant son, Egyptian speakers would have to have their request translated into Greek so that it could be written down. The problem lay in the demotic script. Compared with the Greek alphabet, it was hard to learn and few people bothered. Unless they were priests there was no real need. The situation **(p. 226)** changed in the Christian period with the development of Coptic, the Egyptian language written in the Greek script with a few additional letters. Literacy in Coptic was readily available to anyone who could speak Egyptian and write Greek, and there were much better opportunities to learn to write Coptic than there had been for demotic. The old scripts of Egyptian, tied as they now were to temples, died with paganism. The last attested demotic is to be found in some fifth century graffiti from a temple in Philae in the far south of Egypt.¹⁴

4. Moving from Text to Speech

Such are the scripts of Egypt, and their availability puts us in a relatively strong position to look at what was spoken. Significant problems remain. The first of these is fundamental and general. In a world where literacy was the preserve of a minority and where that literate minority was likely to have an undue proportion of Greek or Latin speakers, using texts to find out what language people actually spoke is a minefield. This problem becomes more acute for Roman Egypt as literacy in Egyptian declines. Whatever your language and preferences, you might end up with a Greek document to your name. We are often told that a document was written on someone's behalf 'because he does not know letters', but we are never, I think, told what must often have been the case, that he did not know how to speak Greek either.¹⁵ There are various instances where this state of affairs might mislead us, as the following evidence shows.

First, writing in Greek need not imply proficiency in or even limited ability to speak Greek. The Romans made it a requirement that contracts should be authorized by subscriptions.¹⁶ In the Fayum village of Tebtunis there were more than 50 different individuals making subscriptions between AD 30 and 55—an impressive indicator of literacy in Greek.¹⁷ This might imply significant bilingualism. However, one might ask, how much Greek did it take to learn to write your own name and a couple of other formulaic phrases? The subscriptions to one contract run as follows:

(3) *Νεμεσιανὸς*<ς> *σέση(μείωμαι)* 'I. Nemesianos, have signed'.
(p.227)

Κα^{λλ}· ἰνικός σεσημίωμαι 'I, Kallinikos, have signed'.¹⁸

A salutary counter-example comes from Plhlae.¹⁹ In the graffito our writer tried to write his name in Greek but changed his mind, or perhaps ran into problems, half way and finished with a sign in the demotic script. The whole name was written from right to left, as was standard for demotic but not for Greek. We might wonder how much Greek he actually knew. The first two syllables πετε- (demotic *p3-di*= 'the one of') are very common and that is as far as he was able or willing to go. We may guess at why he tried to learn his name in Greek. Being able to sign your name for yourself in the elite language would surely give prestige and persuade local officials (who might themselves be illiterate)²⁰ that you were not as gullible as the average peasant was. However, your knowledge of the Greek language might well stop at this point.

A second caveat comes from temple accounts. These detailed records, showing how much was spent for daily and occasional festivals, how much priests were paid, and what were the various sources of their income, were required annually from each temple by the Romans. Some lengthy second-century accounts from the Fayum village of Soknopaiou Nesos (*SPP* xxii. 183) conclude with the statement that someone wrote them on behalf of the priests, who were illiterate. These documents are surely too complicated to have been dictated on the spot. Presumably the priests had their own version, written in Egyptian, which they took to a scribe who could write Greek.²¹ Whether they translated them for the scribe or whether the scribe both translated them and wrote them down is unknowable. Certainly a village scribe who was not bilingual or who employed no interpreter would not have much trade. But the emphasis in the document is on literacy, not on the translation that must have taken place.

These problems are not unique to Egypt. What is peculiar about Egypt, however, is the conservatism of the demotic script. When first introduced, it must have borne a very close relationship to spoken Egyptian, but by the Roman period it was almost certainly archaic. The key indication of this is the general absence of Greek (**p.228**) words. Egyptian could, as we have seen, render Greek words in the demotic script, and for a few technical words and foreign names this is what it did, always finishing the word with a sign to show that it was foreign. On the whole, though, demotic uses very few Greek words, preferring to translate them or ignore them.²² The likelihood that it was a question of demotic ignoring what was spoken rather than that Greek had not percolated significantly into Egyptian is shown not just by chance evidence such as the Narmouthis ostraca. The best evidence is Coptic, which is peppered with a large number of Greek words; perhaps 20 per cent of its vocabulary is Greek.²³ Some of these are doubtless literary intrusions. Where Coptic is translating the New Testament, it may choose a Greek word because it is there in the original. But the large number of, for example, agricultural terms implies that Greek words were in common use.

The large-scale borrowing of vocabulary is what we might have expected. England after the Norman conquest provides some lovely examples of this. Thus a report of a trial of 1631 informs us that the prisoner 'ject un Brickbat a le dit Justice que narrowly mist, & pur ceo immediately fuit Indictment drawn per Noy envers le prisoner, & son dexter manus ampute & fix al Gibbet sur que luy mesme immediatement hange in presence de Court'.²⁴ Thus there is an important by-product of a bilingual society, the intrusion of foreign vocabulary, which our Egyptian evidence deliberately screens from us. In a world in which Greek speakers and Greek culture were making inroads, the Egyptian mode of self-presentation was to suggest that nothing had changed. Their attempts to do so may not have succeeded completely, but certainly make our life harder.

5. Evidence for Bilingualism

Despite the problems, there is a healthy scattering of direct and indirect evidence for Greek-Egyptian bilingualism.²⁵ First, there is a wide range of bilingual documents. There are bilingual decrees (**p.229**) such as the ill-fated self-laudatory one set up by the first prefect of Egypt, Gallus.²⁶ This reflects the bilingualism of Egypt as a whole rather than that of individuals. In using hieroglyphs, Latin, and Greek, it also recognizes that different *scripts*, as opposed to different languages, may be used for particular purposes. This can clearly be seen in some bilingual religious dedications. So, for example, we have some dedications from Coptos in the first century AD which use a mixture of hieroglyphs, demotic, and Greek. While the demotic and the Greek inscriptions tell us that the benefactor to the temple was one Parthenios, the hieroglyphs and the reliefs maintain that it was the emperor.²⁷ When we come to consider the cultural implications of language choice, we should bear this in mind.

There are also bilingual contracts.²⁸ In one case, the relation between the Greek and the demotic is not entirely clear.²⁹ The demotic concerns a house sale and the Greek a loan, both contracted by a woman called Soweris. Soweris may have had access to scribes writing in the two languages or she may have been bilingual. The number of demotic contracts was in any case in steep decline. If your contract became the matter of a legal dispute, it would have to be translated into Greek anyway. Even for those with access to a demotic scribe, Greek may have been the legal language of choice.

Another key group of documents are the tax receipts of the The-baid. Usually these are largely in either Greek or demotic with a brief summary in the other language and are almost always written on ostraca. So, for example, *SB* xviii. 13630 (Thebes, AD 21/2) gives a full account of the payment of dyke tax in demotic but is headed by the name of the payer in Greek. Another receipt, *SB* xvi. 12409 (Medinet Habu, 6 BC), runs as follows:

(4) (*Demotic, 1st hand*): Senpamonthes, daughter of Harsiesis, has paid to the granary in year 24 through Phthoumonthes, son of Khonstefnakhte, $\text{I} \frac{\text{I}}{8}$ (artabas of) wheat/ $4 \frac{\text{I}}{24} \frac{\text{I}}{48} / \text{I} \frac{\text{I}}{8}$ (artabas of) wheat again. They are received. Signed Pamonthes son of ... in year 24, Pauni 22. (*Demotic, 2nd hand*): Signed Plenios son of Kalasiris, in year 24, Pauni 22. (*Greek, 3rd hand*): I, Dionysius, have signed.

Again these receipts clearly reflect a bilingual society in which the administrative language is not the language of the majority.

(p.230) We may wonder, however, why two languages were used and what this tells us about the bilingualism of individuals. In the first example, the Greek heading perhaps enabled filing to be done by someone who could only read Greek. In the second we have a tax official who has either only learnt to write Greek or who likes to show off by signing his name in Greek. Egyptian may well have been his main language. What we can be sure about is that most taxpayers will have spoken only Egyptian, while not much further up the administrative hierarchy the Romans will have required more complicated tax registers to have been written in Greek. Tax offices were presumably transitional points where Egyptian was spoken to the majority of taxpayers but Greek was used to inform the Romans. We need to know whether collectors were mostly Greek speakers who gave limited and grudging help in Egyptian, or whether the collectors themselves struggled with Greek. I suspect that the balance varied from region to region, and shall return shortly to the level of Greek competence demonstrated by our 'bilingual' collectors. We may note in passing here that the Greek is rarely more than names, abbreviated terms, numbers, and symbols, and case endings are often not supplied. We can only guess from our experiences of teaching (and learning) Greek what endings they might have supplied if pressed.

A third group of bilingual documents, which has been well studied, consists of mummy labels.³⁰ As their name suggests, these are essentially address labels for mummies, written both for the benefit of the embalmers and for the gods who might meet the deceased person. They are often, though not always, written in both Egyptian and Greek, and they often, though again not invariably, show some kind of diglossia: that is, the languages are being used for different purposes. What is said in Egyptian is usually longer and more religious while the Greek is usually a brief statement of who the person was and how long he or she had lived. One example is *SB xx. 14413* (Sohag?, third century AD):

(5) <i>Greek</i>	<i>Demotic</i>
Ἀπολλώνιος νεώτ (ερος)	<i>r p3y.f by r šms Wsir-Skr</i>
Βησᾶ πρεσβυτέρου μητρὸς	<i>ntr ʿ3nb Ibte</i>

Θαμίνιος ἱερεὺς καὶ	3p ^{ll} ny ^h s3 Bs-3
ὥς χρηματίζει p3 T3-šr.t-(n)-Mn p3 w ^b b p3 s ^h	
Apollonios the younger (son) of Besas the elder, mother Thaminis, priest and however he is styled.	His soul will serve Osiris Sokaris great god, lord of Abydos Apollonios the younger son of Bes the elder (son of) Senminis, the priest, the scribe.

(p.231) With mummy labels, we have a different motive for bilingualism from that indicated by tax receipts. The Romans are unlikely to have cared with what languages bodies were sent on their way to eternity. Perhaps Greek was used because some of the people involved in dealing with mummies could only read that language, while Egyptian remained in use because it carried with it a weight of religious tradition that was still believed to be necessary for funerary rituals.

Again, however, we do not know how bilingual the individual writers were. It is hard (though not impossible) to tell with two such different scripts whether one or two people wrote the labels, and if there was a separate Greek scribe, he may well have been more or solely literate in Greek but linguistically far more competent in Egyptian. The Greek of bilingual labels is usually too limited for us to guess at whether it was written by a native speaker, a competent Egyptian, or someone really out of their depth. In the example given above, the Greek seems to be a direct translation of the second half of the demotic with the interesting exception of p3 s^h /ὥς χρηματίζει ('the scribe/however he is styled'). One mummy label where we have reason to wonder about the extent of bilingualism is SB i. 1607 (Sohag, date not given). The mummy was that of a woman called Tamos is, who in the Egyptian of the label is described as having the nickname t3 Wynn.t; that is, 'the Ionian' or, as the term is standardly used in Egyptian, 'the Greek'. The writer of the Greek section of the label seems baffled by the term and laboriously transliterates it as Ταουαειαβαινε. He perhaps knew no Egyptian; alternatively, his Greek was so limited that he was unable to translate the name. If one scribe was responsible for the whole label his bilingualism was surely limited, and if two scribes were involved there can have been little communication between them.

A second set of evidence for bilingualism is that relating to interpreters and translators. The evidence is surprisingly limited but we do hear of *hermēneis*, usually working with officials (so, for example, **(p.232)** translating at trials).³¹ We also have some documents that have been translated. One interesting example is SB i. 5231 (Fayum, AD 11):

(6) [άν]τί[γ]ρ[αφ]ρ[αφ]ον Αίγυπτίας π[ρά]σεως Έ[λ]ληνιστί
 μεθρημηνε[υ]μένης [κα]τὰ[τὸ δ]υνατόν [ἔτ]ους ένὸς καί τεσσαρκ[οστ]οῦ
 τῆς Καίσαρος κρα-τήσ[ε]ως, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, μ[η]νὸς Ἀθὺρ^{κδ} λέγει ἐμνείθης
 ὀρπέει [το]π[άε]ις προφήτης [ἐκ] προφήτου Χαιρήμων Ἡρώιδου μητρ[ὸς]
 Θάσειτ[ος] νεβοᾶπι ρί[σ]ῃ ρί[σ]εγ[έ]του Νεφορσάτει Σαταβοῦ τι Ἐργέως
 νεωτέρου μητρ[ὸς] Σ[α]ταβοῦτος.

Copy of an Egyptian sale translated into Greek as well as possible. The forty-first year of the reign of Caesar, son of a god, 24th of the month of Hathyr. The *emneithēs orpaeis, topaeis*, prophet, son of a prophet, Chairemon son of Heroides, whose mother is Thaseis, *neboapis, rises risegetou* to Nephorsatis Satabous son of Herieus the younger, whose mother is Satabous, says ...

The phrase that has generated most interest is ‘as well as possible’. Scholars have wondered whether this tells us that the conscientious translator, perhaps struggling with either the Egyptian or the Greek, tried to render everything precisely but did not want to commit himself to absolute success. Certainly this document is unusual in the number of Egyptian words, laboriously transliterated into Greek (the words in *italics* are all rare priestly titles).³² Normally, a few Egyptian job titles make their way into Greek, often translated, but many are omitted. So prophet (*προφήτης*) is the standard rendition *?m-ntr* (‘servant of god’) but others, such as *neboapis* (*nb-w^b*: ‘lord of purity’) do not usually appear in Greek documents. So this is an instance where translation did not normally take place and does not therefore imply that our translator was struggling. There simply were no Greek equivalents for the words he leaves in Egyptian. The phrase ‘as well as possible’ is probably just formulaic for the increasingly rare occasions when *written* translations were made. After all, many contracts involved translation but generally the Greek was the original written form. Here, it is made clear that the Egyptian document is the original and most authentic document and the translation seems competent.

The third, and possibly most interesting, set of evidence for bilingualism concerns interference with language—that is, evidence that one language has come into contact with another or is being spoken **(p.233)** by people whose first language is different. Demotic, as we have seen, generally screens out such interference so the signs are most likely to be found in Greek. There are indeed odd phrases which show a crossover from Egyptian. One famous example, identified by Husson, is the puzzling phrase *ὑπὸ δούου*, which ought to mean ‘under the donkey’ but which is probably affected by the Egyptian *?r*, which can mean ‘under’ but can also mean ‘in charge of’.³³ Another is the occasional use of a resumptive pronoun in a relative clause, essential in demotic which has an indeclinable relative converter, but redundant in Greek.³⁴ The evidence is ripe for linguistic experts to find more such signs of interference.

Signs such as the possible ones given above may indicate the levels of bilingualism in society as a whole. If an ‘Egyptianism’ becomes part and parcel of even the Greek spoken by very competent Greek speakers, we would be able to argue for significant linguistic interaction. In terms of the challenges presented by government in a foreign language, it is interesting to know how many Egyptian speakers made an effort to learn Greek to cope with or benefit from Roman rule. Some people from the early Ptolemaic period onwards did this so successfully that one cannot be sure what their first language really is. Such people may well have intermarried with Greeks and become indistinguishable members of the Greek elites whom the Romans used as the basis of their civic elites.³⁵ But was this an ongoing process? That is, how many people were continuing to learn Greek as a foreign language rather than being born into a Greek-speaking environment?

At this point bad Greek comes into the argument. When we see Greek written with a shaky grasp of grammar we may hope to be seeing the results of someone who has learnt Greek to get on in the world, and sometimes that is doubtless the case. The problem lies in identifying ‘bad Greek’. Editors sometimes throw up their hands at the vulgarity, illiteracy, and general awfulness of some papyrological Greek. The question, however, is whether the writer lacks competence in Greek or whether we are simply seeing Greek written as it will have been heard and spoken. Even in the classical period, only a small proportion of Greeks will have spoken **(p.234)** the language as it was written by, for example, Thucydides. In the intervening centuries the pronunciation of Greek had changed significantly.³⁶ In its own way the written Greek of intellectuals was as good at masking changes as demotic, but the less exalted writers of papyri reveal those changes.

One example is *P. Oslo* ii. 32, an early Roman contract from the Fayum village of Theadelphia of which the editor comments, ‘our document is marked by great, indeed hopeless illiteracy—the language far exceeds in vulgarity the other 1 larthotes papyri in Milan’. However, the ‘mistakes’ are minor. So, for example, γεργων is written for γεωργῶν, ὠσε for, ὄσαι, αἶν for ἄν, κατενομέαν for κατανομήν, χωρηγοῦ τεσ for χωρηγοῦ ντες. The syntax is good and the formulae seem to be conventional. Another example, which is worth giving in full with the corrections supplied by the editor, is *P. Ryl.* ii. 135 (AD 34):

(7) Text, before correction

Editor's
corrections

Λυσανία στρατηγοὶ Ἀρσινοεΐτου παρὰ Ἀρτεμιδώρου
τοῦ Ἰρηναίου. τῇ νυκτί φεροῦσιν εἰς τὴν κβ τοῦ Φαρμο
ῦθι τοῦσπατηγῶι

(7) Text, before correction	Editor's corrections
5 ἐνεστοτος κ (ἔτους) Τιβερίου Καίσαρος	ἐνεστῶτος
Σεβατοῦ ἐπιβαλόντος τινὸς	ἐπιβαόντες τινές
λαιοτρικο τρόπο εἰς ἃς γεορ-	ληστρικῶ τρόπῳ.. γεωρ-
γο περεὶ Εὐημερίαν τῆς Θεμίσσ-	γῶ πεπί
του μερίτος Μάρκου Ἀπολ<λω>νίου	μερίδος
10 Σατυρνίρου χόρτου ἦραν	Σατυρνίλου<ἀρούρας>
διὰ ὄνον χόρτου δύσμας	ὄνων ... δέσμας
τριάκο ἀπὸ ἀρουρῶν δύο.	τριάκοντα
διὸ δίδυμε τὸ ὑπόμνημα	δίδωμι
ὑποσ ἀναζητήσῃ ὁ τῆς	ὅπως
15 κώμης ἀρχήφοδος	ἀρχέφοδος
καὶ ἀκθῆναι τοὺς αἰ-	ἀχθῶσι οἱ σ ἱτιοι... <πρὸς
δίους ἐπὶ σὲ ἔκξοδοδ (ν). εὐτύχ(ει).	τὴν δέουσαν ἐπ>έξοδον

To Lysanias, *stratēgos* of the Arsinoite nome, from Artemidoros son of Irenaios, On the night before the 22nd of Pharmouthi of the present 20th year of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, some individuals made a thievish incursion into the land which 1 cultivate belonging to Marcus Apollonius Satuminus in the area of Euhemeria in the division of Themistes, and carried off on donkeys thirty bundles of hay from two arouras. I therefore present **(p.235)** this petition in order that the *archephodos* of the village may make an inquiry and the criminals may be brought before you for fitting punishment. Farewell.

Again, the writer seems to me to be competent. Most of the vowel changes are common to koine Greek. The slip at the end is surely because the writer has switched construction rather than because he does not know the proper syntax. The only possible sign that Egyptian has affected the Greek is μερίτος for μερίδος. The τ/δ confusion is common in the Greek of Egypt as is that between γ/κ, π/β, and σ/ζ.³⁷ Egyptian did not make a clear distinction between these pairs of sounds, which may have affected Greek pronunciation over time. This does not mean necessarily, however, that our writer did not have Greek as his first language.

What we do occasionally see is confusion over case endings. Demotic did not have them, and so this may be a sign of Greek's being used as a second language. Incorrect gender may be another pointer. Examples of both include ἡ μηχανὴ τὸ ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ,³⁸ τοῦ Μωθίτ[ο]υ νόμῳ,³⁹ and Ἀντωνίνος ... οἰκῶν ἐν κώμῃς Ἀφροδίτης.⁴⁰ We shall return to case endings in the next section. But for now we can note that most Greek papyri are easily readable: there is very little bad Greek, and if the writers are bilingual they are competently so. We are seeing the work of professional scribes who did a good job of translating an alien world into something the Romans could understand.

This brings us back to my final set of examples in this section, and that is the Greek ostraca from the Narmouthis archive (OGN). In contrast to the general pattern as illustrated above, the Greek in them is clearly the work of people struggling—and not quite succeeding—to learn Greek. The case endings are often wrong and the sentence structure is awkward.⁴¹ We do not know whether these ostraca were real messages or whether they were, like many of the published demotic ones, school texts. Some of them seem, too good to be true: how often did people really use the aorist passive of an unusual compound such as *προσπαράγραφω* (OGN 77)? None the less, these texts are the work of people making an effort to write **(p.236)** Greek, a language in which they are not fluent. In terms of the history of literacy in Egypt, our Narmouthis writers are atypical, in the writing of both Greek and Egyptian.

It was clear at the outset of this investigation that the conservatism of the demotic script would prevent our seeing much of the impact of bilingualism on spoken Egyptian before Coptic became widespread. Expert linguistic analysis of the written Greek of Roman Egypt will doubtless provide further insights into the impact of Greek-Egyptian bilingualism on the Greek of individuals or of Egypt as a whole. However, the survey of Greek documents has shown that such insights will be limited. The Greek of our texts is largely the work of professionals: some were written by very educated, fluent Greek speakers who did not need scribes, but most were the work of professional scribes. We know that Roman administration put heavy linguistic demands on Egypt but we are kept at one remove from seeing what the demand to learn Greek actually entailed. We can find this even with bilingual archives. Such archives might show us where individuals, families, or institutions felt happy operating in both Greek and Egyptian, but for the Roman period most bilingual archives belong to a temple environment. This is surely because increasingly only temples had easy access to scribes who could write in Egyptian. This reduction in our evidence of bilingualism is a function of changing patterns of literacy, not language choice.

6. Bilingual 'Profiles' and Biculturalism

An approach which will allow us to build on what the examination of specific documents has revealed but which will also suggest hypotheses for further research is offered, I believe, by the work of the linguist Hoffmann and her list of possible bilingual 'profiles' referred to in the introduction. Because it is extremely rare for anyone to use two languages in identical situations with identical facility, there is a range of ways in which fluency and use of the respective languages will be balanced. Quite often someone might possess only a narrow technological competence in a language and would be at a loss if required to use it in other situations. Classicists are all too aware that fluency in the high literature of Republican and Imperial Rome would leave them ill-prepared for a conversation with any **(p.237)** Romans of the period. Everyone who uses more than one language has a different profile: they will possess different vocabularies and understanding of cultural concepts as well as unequal grammatical competence. A selection of Hoffmann's suggested case studies will illustrate this point.⁴²

- (1) the Japanese airline pilot who uses English for most of his professional communication;
- (2) the Turkish immigrant worker in ... Germany who speaks Turkish at home and with his friends and work colleagues, but who can communicate in German in both the written and the oral forms with his superiors and with the authorities;
- (3) the Canadian child from Montreal who comes from an English-speaking background and attends an immersion programme which consists of virtually all school subjects being taught through the medium of French;
- (4) the two-year-old who is beginning to talk, speaking English to one parent and Welsh to the other;
- (5) the fervent Catalanist who at home and at work uses Catalan only, but who is exposed to Castilian Spanish from the media and in the street and has no linguistic difficulty in the latter language.

The world from which these case studies are drawn bears little relation to antiquity. Nowadays, the majority languages in any country tend to be the ones with high status; appreciation of minority languages depends on political circumstances. A British child who is bilingual in French or German is considered to have a valuable extra skill; a British Asian child who uses Urdu at home and English at school is all too often considered to be disadvantaged. Closer to the Roman Empire would be the world of the British Empire, but colonial studies seem relatively uninterested in language use. Most studies of the languages of India, for example, seem to be concerned with the legacy of colonial rule and the survival of English as an official language, but not the nature of bilingualism under British control. What Hoffmann's profiles do, however, is to break down the rather monolithic understanding of bilingualism and help us to understand the very different levels of competence and uses of Greek and Egyptian.

There is one group of bilingual profiles for Roman Egypt which can be argued for directly from the linguistic evidence. This relates **(p.238)** to the first two examples I have taken from Hoffmann. Both of these concern individuals whose second language was developed in response to the needs of work. The first, the Japanese airline pilot, possessed only a very limited competence in English. Presumably he had only a small range of phrases and terms relating to flying an aircraft. The Turkish worker could hold more general conversations with his employers and write in a second language but the vocabulary of his private life and cultural world was largely Turkish.⁴³ They represent different ends of a spectrum that I believe could also be found in Roman Egypt. The only difference is that the individuals concerned were natives learning a foreign language, not immigrants learning the language of their hosts. The relevant individuals here are the Upper Egyptian tax officials discussed in the previous section. Their Greek was developed to cope with registering and reporting tax payments to their superiors. Many, I believe, would have struggled to use Greek in any other circumstances. Three arguments can be used to support this claim, and all concern the ability of our writers to inflect Greek correctly.

First, we can consider how the writers of our tax receipts coped with names. The argument is somewhat technical but my overall contention is that the writers of tax receipts had learnt to express both Greek and Egyptian names in the Greek way, with the person's name in the nominative and his patronymic in the genitive. Unlike many Hebrew names in the Septuagint, Egyptian names were not left uninflected. But when required to change the case of the name from nominative to genitive and particularly dative, a significant number of writers struggled. For many of them, in other words, their grounding in Greek was sufficient to provide intelligible, if not always accurate, receipts but would not have allowed them to cope well outside this narrow area. The argument in detail runs as follows.

In Egyptian, names were not inflected. In Greek not only was the patronymic customarily put into the genitive but the first name might be in any of the cases depending on context. The receipts **(p.239)** written on ostraca contained in *O. Bodl. ii* show us how competent scribes from various parts of the south of Egypt were in the first three centuries AD. Two formulae are particularly common in these receipts and the parts involving nomenclature may be characterized thus:

(1) X son of Y has paid ...⁴⁴

(2) Tax collectors to X son of Y. We have received the tax ...⁴⁵

In both formulae the patronymic of the taxpayer should be in the genitive case, while his own name should be nominative in the first formula and dative in the second. There are about 250 ostraca in *O. Bodl. ii* using the first formula. Of those where the ending is not abbreviated, dubious, or lost, the vast majority of names are correctly rendered in the nominative (c.98 per cent) and most patronymics are correctly put into the genitive (c.90 per cent). When we turn to the second formula, we find that of the 400 relevant texts, again about 90 per cent of the identifiable patronymics are in the genitive (and where wrong are always in the nominative).⁴⁶ The contrast lies with the first names. About 60 per cent of those with identifiable endings are wrong, and interestingly, while the majority of incorrect names have been put in the nominative, about a third use the genitive. There is a sense that inflection should happen, but only limited ability to control that inflection.

Second, there are further indications that at least some of the writers of our receipts would have struggled with case endings generally. First, there are renditions of the standard Greek expression used where someone has two names. Usually, such an individual is described as X ὁ καὶ Y: 'X the one also Y' The word for 'the' (ὁ) ought to decline. In Egyptian there would of course be no inflection: we have seen one phrase in a text cited earlier: X ?d n.s Y (X called Y).⁴⁷ Sometimes the phrase is manipulated correctly in our ostraca, but more often than not a confused amalgam of case endings is the result. So, for example, we have:

(8) *O. Bodl. ii. 800* (AD 145): Φθεισοῦ τι ὁ καὶ Ἑσμῖ (νις)
(p.240)

O. Boil. ii. 856 (AD 137): Ἐπωνύχῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀπάθου

O. Bodl. ii. 859 (ad 138?): Ποριεύθῃ ὁ καὶ Πασῶτος.

Variations to the set formula also cause problems. *O. Bodl.* ii 875 (AD 73) states that διαγεγρά(φασιν)υιῶν Περσάις Πακοῖβ[ιος] (the sons of Pemsais son of Pakoibis have paid). The word for 'sons' ought to be nominative and Pemsais genitive. But the scribe is so used to putting the name in the nominative that he does so here and 'sons' is made genitive.⁴⁸ Overall, tax receipts give an indication of only limited grammatical competence in Greek. At this point we need to stress that many tax receipts on ostraca are written very well. Some of our scribes could doubtless have held fluent conversations in Greek with colleagues and superiors. However, there is room to believe that some would have been absolutely at a loss; that they could write Greek to a formula, as the airline pilot could listen to formulaic instructions and give set responses, but no more. To prove this we need to turn to the final argument.

The key point here is that tax receipts are highly abbreviated, and it is often the endings of words that are omitted. An example is the word σάκκος 'sack', which is used frequently in the receipts of *O. Mich.* ii. This word is usually abbreviated to σακκ- and so the writers did not have to worry about the case ending. Where the ending is supplied there is a tendency to use the nominative even where an oblique case is required, and only once is an oblique case used correctly. We cannot be certain, but it seems very likely that some scribes writing in Greek had little or no proficiency beyond what they wrote. What are the implications of these findings?

The first is that taxpayers dealing with such scribes would not have lost out from speaking only Egyptian. The collectors would have conversed with them easily in what was the mutually preferred language. This would have reduced the incentive for private individuals to learn Greek. Where tax collectors struggled in Greek, they would have been at a disadvantage if Greek-speaking superiors asked for further explanations or maintained that the tax collectors had failed to do their job properly. Those collectors whose ability in Greek was closer to that of Hoffmann's Turkish worker than to her airline pilot had the potential to gain significant local power. Second, where Egyptians learnt Greek for low-level administrative **(p.241)** purposes, their cultural grasp of Greek was probably limited or almost non-existent. This is why I am sceptical about Bresciani's claim that the Narmouthis texts in themselves represent a 'profoundly mixed culture'. The texts themselves do not indicate that the priests were trying to become Greek or Hellenized but that the Romans required of them a number of regular reports written in Greek.

The question of cultural mixing continues to be important when we consider those with a greater and more rounded fluency in Greek. What balance did such people have between Greek and Egyptian? Were there in fact significant numbers of people in the Nile valley who were as out of their depth with Egyptian as the majority of inhabitants were with Greek? By not speaking Egyptian, inhabitants of Egypt would both be putting themselves at a linguistic disadvantage and be divorcing themselves from much of the culture of the country in which they were living.⁴⁹ The pattern of bilingualism or monolingualism among fluent Greek speakers is therefore as important for understanding life under Roman rule as are the attempts of Egyptians to learn the rudiments of Greek to cope with foreign conquest. For this issue, the *mētropoleis* of Egypt provide the best starting-point.

Mētropoleis, which headed the administrative regions or nomes into which Egypt was divided, had been centres for the Greek elite ever since the conquest of Egypt by the Macedonian Greeks in 332 BC. Under the Romans, the importance of Greek culture in *mētropoleis* had been given an extra impetus. Metropolitite élites, drawn from men of Greek origin (notionally at least), were formalized and given a greatly increased role in local administration in return for various tax and other privileges.⁵⁰ *Mētropoleis* might now hope to emulate Alexandria, the most important Greek city in the Empire.⁵¹ Not only was the status of Greek culture heightened, but also many of the jobs involved a large amount of paperwork in Greek and a significant degree of accountability for those who performed them. What might be the language profiles of this metropolitite class?

(p.242) First, we know that some would have a literary grasp of Greek as well as basic conversational or administrative skills. This is clear from the large amounts of Greek literature—epic, poetry, history, and oratory—found on the rubbish dumps of one metropolis, Oxyrhynchus. In a world of animal-headed gods and hieroglyphs, some attempts may have been made to preserve (or create) a sense of Greekness. For the Ptolemaic period this is clearly shown by the so-called schoolboy's book.⁵² This long papyrus, probably a schoolmaster's textbook, was used to teach Greek in a Fayum village. Amongst the various exercises in literacy and numeracy, the word-lists are striking. They contain, for example, the names of Greek rivers and gods. They are not directed at helping the learners to cope with administration in Greek but to help them to read Homer and tragedy. For the Roman period, it has been shown that limited extracts of Greek literature were available to give people an easy taste of the classics.⁵³ The difference in the Roman period is that the main arenas for immersion in Greek culture, the gymnasia, were restricted to the civic elites. So, for example, village gymnasia disappear and the Jews of Alexandria were excluded from the city's gymnasium: 'those from the gymnasium' were the inner elite of the metropolitane class and membership of the group had to be inherited and proved. None the less, Egyptians who wanted to better themselves will have needed to immerse themselves in Greek culture. Perhaps they attended Greek plays at the theatre, took Greek tutors, or, if they had insinuated themselves into the Greek elite before the Roman conquest, they could continue to foster Greekness in their children through participation in the gymnasium. We would have here a parallel with the third example from Hoffmann: the English-speaking Canadian child taught French through the medium of French education. Such a child would become competent in French in more than just basic grammatical terms.

Both native Greeks and Hellenized Egyptians (and any such distinction must have been blurred after 300 years of Greek rule) will often have married Egyptians. Such mixed marriages must, for at least a generation, have produced linguistic capabilities similar to the fourth example from Hoffmann, where the child is spoken to by each of the parents in their respective first language. What the children could express in each language will have varied: a male child of a Greek-speaking father and Egyptian-speaking mother **(p.243)** will have had a public vocabulary in Greek but perhaps a better private vocabulary in Egyptian. To be bilingual would have been a great advantage for these children. Just as someone who could not speak Greek might have felt at a loss with the authorities, someone who could only speak Greek would have been at risk from deception by the population at large.

Speculations are all very well, but finding evidence for these hypotheses is difficult. Our metropolites have left us a written record that is exclusively Greek. However, while the inner circle of *mētropoleis*, the gymnasial class, was small, metropolite status was more widely held. In Ptolemais Euergetis the metropolite class as a whole numbered (in theory) 6,475, perhaps a quarter of the city's population.⁵⁴ All of these probably wanted to show themselves to be superior to those of lower status and all were liable to liturgies bringing them into contact with Greek-speaking officials. It seems implausible that all could have found themselves Greek-speaking wives. Roman and Alexandrian citizens were not allowed to marry Egyptians (here 'Egyptian' is a technical term about the status of an individual rather than ethnicity) but there seems to be no comparable restriction for those of the metropolite class.

Further research is needed here but the following suggestions may be offered. Among the men of the civic elites, monolingualism was probably disadvantageous although probably not rare. Whereas the general population might hope to have most of their dealings with minor officials whose Egyptian was better than their Greek, the civic elites performed jobs which made them answerable to senior nome officials, mostly drawn from the Alexandrian Greeks who may well have spoken little or no Egyptian. Given that they underwrote their jobs with their own money, inability to communicate in Greek would have been risky. At the same time, immersion in Greek culture helped some to maintain their Greek ancestry, however diluted, and to show their superiority to the mass of the Egyptian population. But having little or no Egyptian must also have been awkward. Inter-marriage and speaking Egyptian with one's mother may perhaps have meant that monolingualism in Greek was rare. Our evidence on this point will always be poor. The Roman desire for communications in Greek not only obscures from us the ability of people to speak Egyptian; it also prevents us from seeing whether they resented being forced to use Greek rather than Egyptian. This **(p.244)** takes us to the final possible bilingual profile that I would like to discuss.

Hoffmann describes the ardent Catalanist for whom language and politics are inseparable. He can use Castilian Spanish but avoids doing so as a political protest. Were language and anti-Roman feeling connected in Roman Egypt? The view that they were lies behind Hopkins's understanding of Coptic. Coptic, he says (1991: 146), 'originated as a script of protest' and 'represents a cultural resistance of native Egyptian against the dominance of Greek speakers and writers'. We can certainly see diglossia in the use of Greek and Egyptian scripts. Egyptian was often the script of preference in traditional temple matters. We have seen how mummy labels often used Egyptian for the religious information. Bilingual inscriptions from Dendara of the late Ptolemaic and early Roman periods list traditional priestly titles in full in Egyptian but the Greek tends to omit most of them.⁵⁵ Tragedy and philosophy were written in Greek while Egyptian readers could savour the delights of the Wisdom Literature of Onchsheshongy ('the owner of a cow gets to run | do not laugh at a cat | when a crocodile loves a donkey it puts on a wig' and so on).⁵⁶ Through the Egyptian script much traditional Egyptian culture was preserved.

But to interpret the Egyptian language and literature as a form of protest, I think, is to read too much into it. The hypothesis also fails to match with the way that Egypt worked. The language of the emperor and the administrators from outside Egypt was Latin rather than Greek. For the city elites, Greek was part of what it was to be high-ranking in Egypt and had been for several hundred years. Our evidence (admittedly most of it *in* Greek) suggests that their inferiors tried to emulate rather than ignore them. We can see various instances of overlap. The Hermetic literature shows that amongst the elite of the Thebaid there were people able to exchange and compare Greek and Egyptian learning.⁵⁷ Some of the mummy labels tried to put traditional Egyptian ideas into Greek. And perhaps most striking of all are the oracle questions. For some reason in the Roman period oracle questions ceased to be put in Egyptian and were all put in Greek. This was presumably not an official dictum but responded to some need. But surely had the Egyptian language, Egyptian religion, and some kind of protest been connected, Egyptian would have persisted for oracle questions. Rather, as Clarysse (**p.245**) concludes, 'the transition of demotic oracle questions, the usual type in the Ptolemaic period, to Greek ones in the Roman period is one of the most interesting though usually ignored signs not only of the interest which the Greeks had in Egyptian religion, hut also of the openness of the Egyptian temples and clergy to their Greek clientele'.⁵⁸ The relation of language and culture in Roman Egypt thus remains an open issue.

7. Conclusion

Bilingualism was what enabled the Romans to govern their provinces, and the lack of official interest in language was a sign of how successfully they persuaded local elites to function in Greek or Latin. In Roman Egypt they had a firm basis of Greek speaking from which to begin, and I would see civic elites as key transitional bodies—places where you would expect to see relatively competent bilingualism. Elsewhere, however, I think that bilingualism would have been limited—limited to knowing at best a few words to try to impress people around you or to performing a job in which some technical knowledge of Greek was an essential. Likely civic bilingualism combined with such limited use of Greek ensured that Greek words entered the Egyptian vocabulary.

But for most Egyptians Greek remained a very foreign language (though associated with their superiors as much as with people from abroad), as is shown by the standard of Greek achieved by the priests of Narmouthis and the fact that they intersperse Greek words in the Greek alphabet: they are *hearing* them as alien. While I am sceptical about the Egyptian language's being linked to social protest, there were doubtless linguistic tensions and I like to think that these are shown in one final document. For this we return to the demotic school texts of Narmouthis and to a particularly pithy text (*OMM* 5). The student writes, 'I will not write in writing of Greek writing. I am στῦφιν' The last word has been interpreted as the Greek for 'obstinate' and it is therefore appropriate that it has been written in Greek letters.

Notes:

- (1) Horst (1984} e.g. fr. 12 (p. 25), fr. 25D (pp. 30–43), fr. 28D (p. 45).
- (2) e.g. Hamers and Blanc (1989) 6.
- (3) Cf. Hoffmann (1991) 21 for further details and bibliography.
- (4) Hoffmann (1991) 16–17.
- (5) Bresciani, Pernigotti, and Betro (1983).
- (6) Bresciani suggests that this is a misspelling of $\epsilon\iota\delta\omicron\varsigma$ (the τ/δ confusion is very common).
- (7) This combination: *ir* (literally 'to make/do') + Greek infinitive is quite common in the archive and also in Coptic, suggesting that it reflects usage in ordinary speech. For the Greek in these documents see Bresciani and Pintaudi (1987); cf also Donadoni (1955). For Greek loanwords in demotic generally see Clarysse (1987).
- (8) Bresciani and Pintaudi (1987) 123.
- (9) Bowman (1990) 67 for hierarchy of officials.

(10) Horn (1984).

(11) See Ray (1994 *a*) for a survey of the languages and scripts of ancient Egypt; see also Baines (1983).

(12) Cf. Zauzich (1983) and Lewis (1993) on the decline of demotic.

(13) Bagnall (1993) 230–60 (ch. 7), specifically on 237.

(14) AD 452, see Baines (1983).

(15) Cf. Youtie (1971); (1975 *a*): (1975 *b*).

(16) Youtie (1975*b*).

(17) See Hopkins (1991), drawing on an official summary of contracts made at the village record office and of the subscribers who authenticated each one.

(18) *P. Tebt.* ii. 354 (AD 186–8) II. 19–20.

(19) Griffith (1937) i, no. 321.

(20) Cf. Cribiore (1996) 150–1 and Hanson (1991) 171–4 on the illiterate village scribe Petaus, who managed a rudimentary signature to some village documents.

(21) *P. dem.* Berlin 6848 is an example of a demotic temple inventory; cf. Burkhalter (1985) 131.

(22) See Ray (1994 *a*); (1994 *b*) on the relation of written and spoken demotic, and Clarysse (1987) on the nature and rarity of Greek loanwords in demotic.

(23) Horn (1984) 1365.

(24) Quoted by Crook (1987) 49 n. 41.

(25) See especially Depauw (1997) 41 ff. for the range of evidence. Cf. also Rochette (1996)—but much of this concerns Greek–Latin bilingualism.

(26) *OCIS* ii. 654, 29 BC (Philae).

(27) Farid (1988).

(28) e.g. *P. Ryl.* ii. 160 (b) with appendix 1 for demotic.

(29) Resmontl (1960–70) = *SB* xii. 10804 (Greek only), AD 47.

(30) Quaegebeur ‘inscribed mummy labels’, in *P Lugd. Bat.* xix. 157–68.

(31) Cf. Calderini (1953); Perermans (1983); Rochette (1994).

(32) Cf. *P. Mil. Vogl.* iii. 185–7 for transliteration, translation, and discussion of italicized Egyptian titles.

(33) Husson (1982); cf. also Vergote (1984). See also Mussies (1968) for Egyptianisms in a Ptolemaic document.

(34) *P. Oxy.* i. 117 l. 5; cf. Vergote (1984) 1387.

(35) Cf. Montevicchi (1970); Bowman and Rathbone (1992).

(36) Cf. Palmer (1945); Gignac (1976).

(37) Vergote (1984) 1387.

(38) *P. Mert.* ii. 79 (2nd cent. AD, provenance unknown),

(39) *P. Kell. G.* i. 41 (AD 310, Kellis).

(40) *P. Kell. G.* i. 44 (AD 382, Kellis).

(41) e.g. *OGN* 2: *πρὸς τοὺς ἐν τῇ παρεμπολῇ καὶ στρατιωτῶν μετὰ δώρων τὸ κε* ‘to those in the encampment and soldiers with gifts, the 25th’.

(42) Hoffmann (1991) 16–17. Each of these examples is quoted word for word from Hoffmann. The numbering, however, is my own. Hoffmann’s full list has 15 examples.

(43) An example of how grammatical fluency in a language may be no protection against cultural misunderstandings was given by a friend working in Berlin. When told by her employer that she ‘*must* come round to visit’ she waited for the invitation—in English such a phrase does not constitute an invitation and can even imply the opposite. She came close to giving serious offence: it appeared that in German the phrase was an actual invitation which it was discourteous to ignore. Ignorance of literature might also put a non-name speaker at a disadvantage.

(44) e.g. *O. Bodl.* ii. 574 (AD 106): *δια(γέγραφε)Πικῶς Ἀπολλοδώρου ὑπ(ἐρ)χω(ματικοῦ) Χά(ρακος)κτλ.* Note Griffith’s comment on *O. Bodl.* ii. 1169 (13 BC) that ‘the formula *ἔγραψα ὁ δεῖνα* is derived from the Egyptian’.

(45) e.g. *O. Bodl.* ii. 676 (AD 89): *Πισαίς καὶ Ψενμεῖ(νις) ἐπιτη(ρηταὶ) θη(σαυρο)ῦ(ρῶν) Ἐπωνύχῳ Ὡρο(ν)χα(ίρειν).ἀπὲχ(ομεν) τὸ βαλ(ανευτικὸν) κτλ.*

(46) Cf. *O. Ont. Mus.* i, 21 (AD 121) n. 2: ‘as happens frequently, oblique cases are rendered by the nominative’.

(47) ‘Tatnosis also called the Greek’: *SB* i. 1607, referred to on p. 231 above.

(48) Note also how numerous tax receipts on ostraca (e.g. *O. Bodl.* ii, *WO*, and *O. Mich passim*) reveal a tendency to put the number four into the nominative (τέσσαρες) instead of the accusative (τέσσαρας)

(49) Rona (1966) claims that in Paraguay those who only speak the minority but prestigious language Spanish and not Guaraní 'have no social rating at all'. Unfortunately, the authority of this study based on *seven* replies to a questionnaire is suspect.

(50) Cf. Bowman and Rathbone (1992).

(51) Cf. Turner (1975).

(52) Jouget (1938).

(53) Morgan (1995) and (1998) 53–4, 85–6, 120 ff.

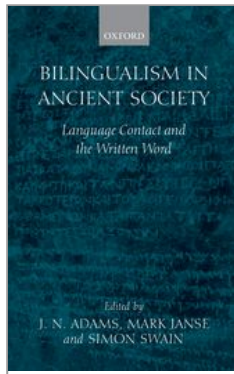
(54) Montevecchi (1970).

(55) La'da (1994).

(56) Liehtheim (1980).

(57) Fowden (1986).

(58) Clarysse (1984) 1348.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Interactions between Greek and Phrygian under the Roman Empire

CLAUDE BRIKHE

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Abstract and Keywords

Greek and Phrygian probably interacted over a period of several thousand years. Isoglosses linking the two languages presuppose a close genetic relationship in prehistoric times. Contacts between the two languages must have been maintained, whether or not continuously, until the end of the second millennium, by which time the Phrygians were to be found in Macedonia and Thrace. The Macedonian invasion inevitably intensified interactions between the two languages, bringing them to an unprecedented level, but also changing their character. This chapter examines how Phrygian survived, at least in written form, until the middle of the third century AD.

Keywords: Greek, Phrygian, Roman empire, Macedonia, Thrace, isoglosses

1. The Context

1.1. *Millenary contacts*

GREEK and Phrygian probably interacted over a period of several thousand years, Isoglosses linking the two languages presuppose a close genetic relationship in prehistoric times (Brixhe 1994: 176–7). Contacts between the two languages must have been maintained, whether or not continuously, until the end of the second millennium, by which time the Phrygians were to be found in Macedonia and Thrace. From there we know that they migrated to Asia Minor, although the precise date of this move remains in dispute (Brixhe 1994: 166). Can we turn to archaeological evidence for the answer? Unfortunately, too few sites have been excavated as yet, and there are details of finds which have yet to be published and exploited to the full. On those occasions when they have been, as is partially the case with Gordion, the various conclusions they suggest lack the desired clarity. It would appear, in any event, that the hypothesis of a single mass migration must be rejected. It seems instead that a steady stream of migrants originating in south-east Europe first began flowing into Asia Minor in the twelfth century, advancing gradually eastwards and occupying (without necessarily destroying) Hittite sites such as Gordion, early on, and Hattusšas/Boğazköy later on.

Inscriptions recently discovered at Daskylion lend credence to ancient testimonies which speak of a Phrygian settlement at the Hellespont and describe Phrygian contacts with various ethnic **(p.247)** Greek groups in the Palaeo-Phrygian period (Ionians from Kyzikos and, to the west, Aeolians from Asia Minor). Yet these same documents also perhaps suggest the existence of continuous traffic between coastal and interior Phrygia (Gordion) (Brixhe 1996 *b*: conclusion 145–8). Later on, in 404, when the deposed Alkibiades is killed at Melissa, in central Phrygia,¹ the ground on which he breathed his last would not have been wholly foreign to the Greeks

The Macedonian invasion inevitably intensified interactions between the two languages, bringing them to an unprecedented level, but also changing their character. Greek took hold at Gordion.² It would certainly seem that members of the Phrygian élite were quick to Hellenize. In an as yet unpublished text, discovered by Thomas Drew-Bear in the Dokimeion area and probably dating from the very end of the fourth century BC, one Nikostratos commissions a memorial in honour of a certain Kleumakhos. The epitaph is written in Phrygian but the onomastics and the presence of Greek loanwords (σορός and possibly also χῶρος) both suggest that the influence of Greek is ancient (Brixhe 1993 *b*): 326–7). The epitaph of Tatis,³ daughter of Nikostratos, is actually written in Greek: she had married one Theophilos (a Macedonian?). However, under conditions which I shall investigate in what follows, Phrygian survived, at least in written form, until the middle of the third century AD. I shall be concentrating here on this Roman period.

1.2. The documents

Examples of Palaeo-Phrygian (from the end of the eighth century to the reign of Alexander) were found spread over a considerable area. Since the publication of the corpus (Brixhe and Lejeune 1984),⁴ apart from the discovery of a seal at Eskişehir/Dorylaion,⁵ this area has expanded as follows: to the south as far as central Lycia (Varinlioğlu 1992: 10 ff.), to the west beyond Uşak, very close to the Middle Hermos (Brixhe 1989–90: 61 ff.) and as far as Lydian Thyatire/Akhisar (Dinç and Tnnocnte 1999: 65 ff.), to the **(p.248)** north-west as far as Mysian Daskyleion (Brixhe 1996 *b*: 125 ff.) and Bithynian Vezirhan (Neumann 1997: 13 ff.). Of course, not all the sites where findings have been made are necessarily indicative of areas of Phrygian settlement. Yet the fact remains that evidence of Palaeo-Phrygian has been found, albeit unevenly distributed, within a vast quadrilateral area, at the corners of which are Daskyleion, Boğazköy, Tyana, and Elmah. The language, which in this period was that of a dynamic ruling people, seems to have been utilized in all registers, whether public or private, sacred or profane.

1.2.1.

The Neo-Phrygian inscriptions date from between the end of the first century and the middle of the third century AD (Brixhe 1993 *b*: 330).⁶ They are very much fewer in number than those in Palaeo-Phrygian, currently 114 in total, of which 63 are bilingual, 50 are monolingual, and one is ambiguous. The language, which by this point was that of a colonized people, was thenceforward confined to the private and religious spheres: all the inscriptions are fragments of epitaphs and all but six are curses on a future grave-robber rather than information-bearing utterances. In the case of the bilingual inscriptions, the relative position of the Greek and the Phrygian reveals the subordinate status of the latter: in 54 out of the 63, the Phrygian comes after the Greek.

The Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are spread over a markedly smaller area than their Palaeo-Phrygian counterparts: the perimeter of the area within which they are contained runs between Eskişehir/Dorylaion, Kütahya/Kotiaion, Eğridir Lake, Laodikeia Katakekaumene, and the northernmost tip of Lake Tatta (now called Tuz Gölü). They are moreover unevenly distributed within this area: more than half come from the western part (along and on either side of the line running between Eskişehir and Eğridir Lake); around twenty were found in a zone which stretches from the area between Akşehir/Philomenion and the northernmost tip of Beyşehir Lake and Laodikeia Katakekaumene. The zone located to the west of the northernmost tip of Lake Tatta has provided fewer than twenty examples. Around ten were scattered in the space which separates these three zones.

(p.249) 1.2.2.

A mere 114 monuments spread over two centuries is really very little indeed. This scarcity can probably not entirely be put down to the chance involved in the discovery of epigraphic material. As we have seen above, by this point Phrygian had been relegated to the cemeteries; moreover, those of low birth, who could not afford a tombstone—surely the vast majority—must inevitably remain silent. The paucity of the Neo-Phrygian corpus unquestionably hides the linguistic reality in at least one respect: for Phrygian to have had an impact on Greek presupposes that there was a high density of Phrygian speakers (§ 2.2). Could this paucity also conceal the linguistic reality in a second respect? Could the reach of the Phrygian language and culture not have extended beyond the area of textual attestation? This may indeed be what we are led to suspect from a preliminary examination of two factors: the doorstones and, to a certain extent, the curses designed to protect the tomb.

Waelkens's (1986) book on doorstones contains a little over eight hundred entries: nos. 22–709 concern Phrygia proper and the majority of the others come from neighbouring regions: Mysia Abbaitis (nos. 3–8), the Middle Hermos (no. 9), northern Pisidia (nos. 710–11), (Phrygian)⁷ Galatia (nos. 712–80, 789–99). The number of entries which fall outside this list is negligible. In Strubbe's (1997) collection of over four hundred burial imprecations, Phrygia is by far the best represented (nos. 156–297). If we add the neighbouring regions under Phrygian influence (Mysia Abbaitis, the Middle Hermos, Kibyratis, north-west Lykaonia, Phrygian Galatia), it appears that close to half of all the entries come from this greater Phrygian cultural area.

Clearly, language and culture do not necessarily map onto one another. However, if these factors are combined with the epigraphic data and an isogloss in Greek documents such as $\pi\sigma(-)$ for $\pi\sigma\sigma(-)$, it does perhaps become possible to establish the precise limits of the area within which Phrygian was spoken. We might accordingly suggest, in spite of the absence of Phrygian texts, that Phrygian-speaking communities may very well have lived in the Middle Hermos basin,⁸ even as late as the Roman era: what we find there are epitaphs of the type $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\epsilon\nu/\acute{\epsilon}\tau\acute{\iota}\mu\eta\sigma\alpha\nu$ just like those from north-west **(p.250)** Phrygia, imprecations of a Phrygian type, everyday objects represented on the stelae as they are in Phrygian,⁹ and, in addition, $\pi\sigma\sigma(-)$ for $\pi\sigma\alpha(-)$.¹⁰ Should this surprise us? Has not a Palaeo-Phrygian document been found very close to this spot?¹¹ We are in the region of Maeonia: could the language of the Phrygian population established there correspond to Hipponax's Maeonian? The poet seems indeed to have known 'a Maeonian language' distinct from Lydian, since on one occasion he uses the adverb $\mu\eta\omicron\nu\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\iota}$ 'in Maeonian' (fr. 3) and on another the verb $\lambda\upsilon\delta\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, in the sense 'to speak Lydian' (fr. 92. 1).¹²

The discovery of Neo-Phrygian inscriptions in the vicinity of Pisidian Antiocheia and of Pisidian documents in the region of Timbriada (south-east of the southernmost tip of Eğridir Lake) enables us to locate the linguistic frontier between the two sites. The epigraphic material from Konya/Ikonion includes curses (Strubbe 1997: nos. 339–50), but the town has neither doorstones nor examples of $\pi\sigma(-)$ for $\pi\pi\sigma(-)$, nor indeed any Xeo-Phrygian documents.¹³ The linguistic frontier must have passed between Ikonion and Laodikeia, for the latter, together with its environs, has furnished a number of Xeo-Phrygian inscriptions. This same combination of criteria allows us to suggest further that, in spite of a lingering sense of their ethnic identity found among some Phrygians (§ 1.3), Phrygian had been eradicated in part of Phrygian Galatia, notably in the area of Gordion and Pessinous.¹⁴ In this region, the last remaining bastion of Phrygian was located to the northwest of the northernmost tip of Tuz Gölü, where Neo-Phrygian documents have been discovered.

These are clearly only hypotheses which may in fact rest on fortuitous gaps in the epigraphic material or on the silence of those who could not write or did not have the opportunity to write their language.¹⁵ Even so, it should be emphasized that the **(p.251)** Phrygian-speaking community, although probably often relatively dense (§ 1.2.2), was seldom homogeneous. In the Greek part of one bilingual inscription (no. 34), one of those to whom the tomb is dedicated bears a Gaulish name, *Bωτδορις* (here in the dative, *Bωδορει*). Whether we are dealing here with a Galatian who became a Phrygian or a Phrygian who had been given a Galatian name, either way this is evidence of ethnic mixing. To summarize, except in the west, the area within which Phrygian survived very probably corresponds roughly to that within which the Neo-Phrygian inscriptions have been discovered.

1.3. A sense of ethnic identity

By the Roman era, the Phrygians had long been colonial subjects. Did they retain a sense of their ethnic identity? The types of curse inscribed on the tombstones and the sporadic use of Phrygian would seem to suggest implicitly that they did. The only concrete evidence we have comes from an area in which, as we have just seen, members of the élite at least may well have lost their Phrygian: Pessinous. In the second century BC, at the latest, the Galatians took control of the priesthood (Debord 1982: 57). Yet two honorary texts from the end of the first century AD (*OGIS* 540 and 541)¹⁶ testify to the return of the Phrygians to the forefront. The high priest is assisted by a college of ten priests, whose seats are numbered hierarchically from one to ten; the first five (nos. 1–5) were occupied by Phrygians and the other five (nos. 6–10) by Galatians.¹⁷ During the open struggle for control of the sanctuary (for long a veritable priestly principality), it was possible for individuals to consider themselves Phrygian three centuries after the arrival of the Galatians. Could the same have been true elsewhere, in situations without such open conflict, simply on the basis of a dichotomy between colonizers and colonized? This is not borne out explicitly by the evidence.

(p.252) 1.4. Phrygian: a living language?

This, however, is perhaps one explanation for the appearance of Phrygian writing on certain tombstones. The last mention of Phrygian in use dates from the fifth century AD. A Church historian mentions an Arian bishop, Selinas, whose father was a Goth and whose mother was a Phrygian, who could preach in either language (*PG* 67. 648). However, the formulaic character of Phrygian curses has prompted some to suggest that Phrygian was no longer a living language at the time when these were inscribed and thus that there could thenceforth be no question of bilingualism.¹⁸ This thesis is mentioned by Mitchell, who quite rightly rejects it (Mitchell 1980: 1061). In most cases in which this can be verified (i.e. if the monument has been preserved or a good photograph exists), when the text is bilingual then the Greek and the Phrygian are both by the same hand.¹⁹ Thus the same person could manipulate both languages, at least in their written forms. We have six monolingual Phrygian documents which correspond to epitaphs (nos. 15, 18, 30, 31, 69, 116), which is to say that the essential information regarding their owner or owners and the person or persons to whom the monument is dedicated is given in Phrygian. In the case of no. 9, this same information appears in both languages.²⁰ Thus the use of Phrygian had not been restricted merely to formulaic imprecations, the mere presence of which, independently of their meaning, would have been considered sufficient to protect the tomb. Phrygian was also used to convey information.

The fact that Phrygian was understood is proved irrefutably by two documents. In no. 96 (= MAMA vi. 382) the inscription is in fact an imprecation. The protasis is in Greek, but the apodosis is in Phrygian: ὃς ἅν τούτῳ τῷ μνημείῳ κακῶς προσποιήσῃ ἢ τοῖς **(p.253)** προ-γεγραμμένοις ὑπεναντίον τι πράξῃ με δεῶς κε ζεμελῶς κε τι τετιμμένος εἶτον 'let he who damages this monument or contravenes the foregoing injunctions be ... [*Phrygian text*]'. No. 88 (=MAMA i. 413) was inscribed on two separate occasions. On a *tabula ansata* there is a Greek epitaph followed by a Neo-Phrygian curse. Then below, a line in Greek which completes the Greek epitaph but which must have been added on the death of the husband of one of those to whom the tomb is dedicated. Not only does the curse depart some-what from the usual formula in its introduction of the 'Wanax of the sky' (πονρ Ουανακταν Ουρανιον), but in the standard part (the protasis), the ordinary word for 'monument' has been determined by the name of one of the dead, thus ἰος νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε αδδακετ αωρω Ουεναουας ... 'whosoever comes to damage this tomb of Ouenaouia, who died prematurely [=αωρω, the genitive of a Greek loanword, epicene as in Greek]'. Αωρω Ουεναουιας (cf. § 2.1.1) cannot be considered the erroneous addition of a careless engraver: the Greek text which precedes it reads τέκνοις ἁώροις (determining the names of two dead people, one of whom is Ουεναουιη). A contrast, which works by polarization, is intended between the form of the personal name in the Greek text and its form in the Phrygian: Ουεναουιαη, the Phrygian genitive, but Ουεναουιη) and Ουεναουιη, the 'Ionian' dative and genitive, in both the original and the later Greek (cf. § 2.1.1). Thus whoever devised the inscription understood what they were writing. In the third century AD Phrygian was well and truly alive. We shall find further evidence of this in the marks it left on the Greek of these very inscription-writers. It remains for us to contextualize these occurrences of bilingualism.

1.5. Status of the key witnesses

Let us begin by examining the social standing of our key witnesses. When their Latin *nomen* is given, it is usually at a time when this can be interpreted quite simply as the sign of a desire for integration, e.g. Αύρήλιος in nos. 19, 20, 21, 55, 88 (twice), 103 (?), 109, Brixhe and Drew-Bear VII. It would appear that Σύμφωνος Πρεῖμ[α τ' Α]ρούντιοι (Brixhe and Drew-Bear vi), which should probably be placed well after the beginning of the third century, has the same meaning. This need not have indicated social betterment, something by contrast which the Κλωδία, daughter **(p.254)** of Σοφοκλῆς and Τερτία in no. 98, could well suggest, if indeed this monument was built before the end of the second century. The status of the builder of the tomb is only given in one instance: 'Αμμώνιος Πατροκλέος ἀπελεύθερος (no. 67). Professions are given only very rarely: ἱππεύς '(military) horseman' on no. 12. On no. 33 Μειρος τέκτων 'carpenter' commissioned the tomb together with his wife, for τέκνω ἰδίῳ Μάρκῳ τέκτονι καὶ ζωγράφῳ αὐώρῳ. These are not the signs of a particularly distinguished social position.

Yet whoever commissioned a tomb must have had the means necessary to pay for it. A third of the monuments are doorstones, and some resemble straightforward, if richly crafted, stelae (nos. 79, 88, etc.). In one instance (no. 21) we have a sarcophagus. Those responsible for these examples of bilingualism would not then have been found at the bottom of the social pyramid. Moreover, at least in principle, they would have been able to read and write. So, if we rule out members of the old Phrygian aristocracy, probably long since assimilated and at most only continuing to use Phrygian with their servants, and those who lacked sufficient means to set their wishes in stone, it would appear that, generally speaking, the bilinguals we are concerned with here probably belonged to the lower end of the ruling class and, in particular, to the upper middle class. A number of those who passed without trace would in reality also have been bilingual, or even monolingual Phrygian speakers: women (who only commissioned a handful of monuments: nos. 10, 36, 61, 73, 98) and indeed those of the lowest social rank.

1.6. Geographic and economic context

If the last Neo-Phrygian documents can be placed at the middle of the third century AD, it follows that Phrygian and therefore bilingualism survived for five or six centuries after the emergence of Greek as the dominant language. We shall now consider the reasons behind this survival. For there to be bilingualism, languages must meet, e.g. at a market in a town. But the town is 'un lieu d'unification. Telle une pompe, elle aspire du plurilinguisme et rejette du monolinguisme' (Calvet 1996: cover text). For bilingualism to have endured it must have been constantly nourished from the outside, and thus an entirely or partially monolingual **(p.255)** Phrygian-speaking community must have survived elsewhere. Mitchell and Sartre describe geographic and economic conditions likely to have favoured the production of just such a linguistic scenario.²¹

As is still the case today, there are no large towns on the Phrygian plateau. We have only to reread Strabo (12. 8. 12 ff.), who described this area as it was at the beginning of the first century AD. According to him, the largest towns in Phrygia were Laodikeia on the Lykos and Apameia (and these were not of any great size). Around these settlements were scattered *πολίσματα* or *χωρία*. Dokimeion is described as a *κώμη*, Pessinous as a large market. Around fifty towns minted their own coins, but few of them in any quantity (Head 1911: 662 ff.). All were located to the west of a line running from Philomenion to Amorion. In the east, there were perhaps only sites which had only reached 'a minimal level of monumental development', as Sartre (1995: 293) puts it, and therefore deserved to be qualified as *κωμόπολις*, a term used by Strabo to describe two small towns in Lykaonia (12. 2. 5, 12. 6. 1).

Phrygia was a land made up of large estates, owned by resident or absentee Roman landlords and by members of the indigenous population descended from the local aristocracy, imperial estates, priestly estates (e.g. the sanctuaries of Men at Pisidian Antiocheia or of Kybele at Pessinous). Colonial landowning was rare in this region, which had a mere three colonial settlements: Germa in the north (Phrygian Galatia), Antiocheia in the southwest, and Laodikeia in the south-east. Phrygia had few settlements of any size and lacked any real strategic importance (the Roman colonies, as we have seen, were located on the periphery). Its system of roads was extremely poor, especially, as one might expect, in the east.²² As regards both the size of human settlements and the state of the road network, little has changed since antiquity.

Our Neo-Phrygian documents, then, were found in and around towns of a modest size, or quite simply near what were nothing more than a *κωμόπολις*, *κώμη*, *πόλισμα*, or *χωρίον*. There was a higher concentration of these in the west than in the east, hence the geographical distribution of the documentary material (§ 1.2.1). Who, **(p.256)** then, would have used Greek, whether as a vernacular or a vehicular language? Town officials, representatives of Roman power, and large foreign landowners. Among the indigenous population, the following groups would have been obliged to know Greek: those who, in the course of their professional activities, dealt directly with civic officials (e.g. contractors), or who in one way or another came into contact with the Roman authorities (e.g. the army); medium or large landowners who produced more than they required to satisfy the needs of their family and sold some of the excess on the market; those who managed, or who were involved in the management of, large estates owned by Greek speakers, etc. Bilingualism was clearly saved from extinction by the enduring presence of a monolingual Phrygian-speaking population, consisting of women (shut up at home) and all those men whose business only brought them into contact with other monolingual Phrygian-speakers (self-sufficient small farmers) or, alternatively, with Greek/Phrygian bilinguals (e.g. farm workers on large estates who were supervised by Phrygians).

2. The Interactions between Greek and Phrygian

Greeks and Phrygians had been in direct contact for a very long time prior to the appearance of the first Neo-Phrygian inscriptions. In the course of their prolonged cohabitation, the two languages could not but have influenced one another, especially in view of the fact that there were marked similarities between many of their various subsystems.

2.1. The influence of Greek on Phrygian

2.1.1.

The brief examination of a section of one of the bilingual inscriptions we have already encountered (§ 1.4) will serve as our point of departure, viz. no. 88 (=MAMA i. 413), Bağlica (northwest of Amorion):²³

	Αὐρ.Μηνόφιλος Οὐενούστου κὲ Μα-
	νία Ἀντιοχον ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ ὩΑππη καὶ
3	Ουεναονιη τέκνοις ἁώροις καὶ
	ἐαυτοῖς μνήμης χάριν. Ἰος
	νι σεμουν κνουμανει κακε
6	αδδακετ αωρω Ουεναονιας τιγ
	γεγαριτμενο ειτον πουρ Ουανα-
	κταν κε Ουρανιον κτλ.

Aur(elios) Menophilos, son of Wenoustos, and Mania, daughter of Antiochos, his wife, for Appe and Wenawia, their children who died prematurely, and for themselves, in memoriam. Let he who damages this monument ... [*Phrygian text*]

(p.257) One of the areas in which we might expect the influence of Greek on Phrygian to have been most keenly felt is lexical borrowing. We have already established (§ 1.4) that αωρω Ουεναονιας does not represent the erroneous insertion of a portion of Greek into the Phrygian text, Haas's ἁώρω is mistaken. What we have here is the Phrygian genitive of a Greek loanword, epicene as it is in Greek, and pertaining to Ουεναονιας.²⁴ The syntagm αωρω Ουεναονιας determines κνουμανει. Although Ουανακταν is almost certainly native to Phrygian,²⁵ the epithet Ουρανιον is another loanword.²⁶

2.1.2.

Thus the influence of Greek on Phrygian is most readily discernible in matters of lexis. Some loanwords date from ancient times, perhaps before the reign of Alexander. I shall not discuss here the case of the full honorific title of Midas (Μ-οΙα), *Midai lavagtaei vanaklei*, which may be native to Phrygian.²⁷ The presence of Ουανακταν in no. 88 (§ 2.1.1) should be adduced in evidence as well. We could, however, consider the name for 'stele', if in fact the word *ḡtala*, which appears on a monument found at Daskyleion (sixth-fifth century BC), indeed refers to this object (Brixhe 1996 b: 132-3, 147).²⁸

(p.258) σορός ‘funeral urn’ is unquestionably a loanword. From it is derived the ‘tomb’ which so often features in Greek epitaphs found in Asia Minor.²⁹ In an inscription on a stele as early as that found at Dokimeion (§ 1. 1), at line 1. 3 (dat. [σ]α σοροί), we find a word which also features in two bilingual inscriptions found at Aşağı Piribeyli (55 km. north-east of Bolvadin, in the middle of northern Phrygia): no. 21 (σα σορου, dative) and Brixhe and Drew-Bear no. VII (σα του σορου, also dative).³⁰ Another obvious loanword is θαλαμει (no. 4), from θαλάμη, ef. no. 1 (mistakenly included at an early stage in the Neo-Phrygian corpus) τίς δέ ταύτη θαλάμειν κακὸν ποσποιήσει.³¹

There are other Phrygian lexemes which may share this source: *κορος < χῶρος (?), appearing in a text as early as the one discovered at Dokimeion which has just been mentioned (1. 6 πορ κορο, 1. 7 κορο), but also in no. 92 ([α]νι κορον).³² Ευκιν (ΕΥκιν αργου, nos. 30, 98) < Εύχή (Brixhe 1993 b: 341)? κνουμαν: native or derived from κένωμα by syncope and a change from ο: to υ: (§ 2.3.1)?³³ κένωμα is used in a Greek inscription from Kibyra to denote the empty space around the tomb (Kubinska 1968: 131, 140). When this word entered Phrygian, could its meaning not have widened to embrace the monument in its entirety (compare κενotάφιον, which simply means ‘tomb’ in Pamphylia)? The Greek κένωμα is derived from κενόω, which is itself a denominative from *ken (w)o- (Chantraine 1968-80: 514-15). It is, however, possible that this was also a Phrygian stem (cf. Brixhe 1993b: 341-2) and there were Phrygian denominative verbs ending in -ojo: (Greek -όω), e.g. the Palaeo-Phrygian optatives *kakoioi* (G-02c) and *kakuioi* (P-04b), which must have been derived from *kako- and be a verb identical to the Greek κακόω (Brixhe 1993 b: 341-2). The possibility that κνουμαν was a word native to Phrygian cannot therefore be ruled out.³⁴

2.1.3.

Here and there, signs of bilingualism and the Greek presence appear in what were probably isolated occurrences of morphological interference, cf. τα μανκαι (no. 2) with its substitution of the **(p.259)** Greek article (τα.) for the Phrygian demonstrative σα;³⁵ αινι μανκης (no. 86) for μανκας, under the influence of the Greek inflection κεφαλή/ῆς; or indeed ος κ€ (no. 54), [ι]ος and ος αν (no. 44}, and τις κ€ (no. 71) for ιος κ€. ³⁶

2.2. The influence of Phrygian on Greek

2.2.1.

This side of the linguistic situation can first be approached by examining a Greek inscription (no. 22) found at Aşağı Piribeyli (§ 2.1.2):³⁷

Aur(elia) Antonila,
daughter of Karikos, has
for herself in her lifetime
and being sound of mind
built this tomb and for
Dimnn as well as Axmeine
and her husband Dades
and her children in
memoriam.

Αὐρ. Ἀντωνίλα Κα-
ρικοῦ ἐαυτῇ ζῶσα
3 κὲ φρονοῦσα κατέσ-
θησεν τὸ ἡρώον
καὶ Δόμνη κὲ Ἀσμεῖνη
6 κὲ ἀνδρὶ Δαδῆ κὲ θέκνοσι
μνήμης χάριν.

I part company with Ramsay and Haas in line 5. Ramsay, who is followed by Haas, gives κὲ *Κασμείνη*, which is unquestionably mistaken (even according to Ramsay's own copy); *Ἀσμεῖνη* is either a nickname formed from the adjective ἄσμενος, 'joyous, happy', or else a hypocoristic for names beginning *Ἀσμενο-* (Bechtel 1917: 86), with the narrowing of *e* to *i* (§ 2.3.1). In this example, Phrygian has had an impact on Greek in at least two ways.

θ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\sigma\iota$ is another way of writing τ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\nu\sigma\iota\varsigma$. The Phrygians assimilated Greek aspirates to their own occlusives, hence the use in Phrygian Greek of [tj for [th] and then for [θ] (after the spirantization of the Greek aspirates) and the two possible ways of writing this [t] (§ 2.2.4.1). κατέ^{σθ}ησεν, with its unusual -σθ-, does not reflect, **(p.260)** even indirectly, the pronunciation of Phrygian speakers, for as we shall see (§ 2.2.4.2), the *st* cluster had been reduced to *(t)t*. One of the written forms which we might expect to have been derived from this pronunciation is supplied in no. 52 (=MAMA i. 11), παρέθθον, probably for παρέστησεν, with an extension (a hypercorrection common in the written language of the time)³⁸ of the thematic ending. κατέσθησεν is then simply the 'local' written guise of the *standard* form. Two factors combine to explain the substitution of the sequence σθ for στ. As we have just seen, τ and θ would have been equivalent for a bilingual. After *s* in Greek, *th* was not spirantized, and coincided with *t*, which explains how, in the case of an original sequence σθ, it was possible to substitute στ, and conversely (as here) to substitute σθ for what is στ etymologically. θέκνοσι: provided that this ending is not the result of an accidental inversion of the last two letters (θέκνο<ις>), it recalls the Neo-Phrygian dative plural ending -ωσι,³⁹

2.2.2.

A second text will allow us to analyse in more precise terms the various aspects of the Phrygian ‘accent’.⁴⁰ It is a dedication, seen only by J. G. C. Anderson,⁴¹ and published successively by Calder, Friedrich, and Haas.⁴² According to Anderson and Haas, the text is Greek, according to Calder and Friedrich it is Phrygian. All cite the same text:

	<i>Μηνουδουτο</i>
	<i>Εσταρτωος</i>
3	<i>Μητερεστησον.</i>

Epsilon and sigma are lunate. In line 2 we perhaps have a local variant of Στράτωνος, with both prothesis and metathesis: prothesis is indeed found commonly in Phrygia (§ 2.2.4.2), but usually has the timbre *i*. Given how many mistakes have been made deciphering rounded letters, we should perhaps read *Μηνούδοτο|ς* = *Μηνόδοτος*. Notice that in moving from line 3 to line 4 the engraver did not respect the syllabic division. Moreover, the substitution of *o* for *u* and vice versa would come as no surprise in this region (§ 2.3.1).

(p.261) Discussing *Μητερε* (here, the ‘Great Mother’), Calder, who thinks the text is Phrygian, refers us to the ending of the Neo-Phrygian word *βρατερε* (no. 31). Haas, who thinks it is Greek, turns to the Palaeo-Phrygian *materey*. It is certainly true that the athematic dative singular ending *-ey* in Palaeo-Phrygian was to become merely *i* in Neo-Phrygian. It is also true that because of the way that the opposition *e—i* is cancelled out at the end of a word, this *i* could be written *Ει* (the historical spelling), *ι* (the phonetic spelling), or *Ε* (the alternative spelling).⁴³ Yet perhaps we should start out simply from the Greek *μητέρι*, taking into account, as we have just noted, the local tendency to cancel out the *e—i* opposition at the end of a word: *e* after *r*,⁴⁴ *i* elsewhere (§ 2.3.1).

In reality, there are three possible readings: (1) *Μητέρ’ἔστησον*;⁴⁵ (2) *Μητέρε στησον*;⁴⁶ (3) *Μητέρε* (ἔ)στησον (a simplified spelling). The last of these seems to me the most economical:

Μηνούδουτο-

ς Στάρτωνος

Μητέρε (ἔ)στησ-

ον

I, Menoudouto-

s, son of Starton,

built [this altar] to [the Great] Mother

2.2.3.

The inclusion of Greek texts in the Neo-Phrygian corpus follows quite simply from the ‘originality’ of Phrygian Greek.⁴⁷ The originality of Phrygian Greek is clearly apparent in its lexis, which incorporates a number of terms from the adstratum. τὸ βέννος ‘society of the faithful’, hence βέννέω, βέννάρχης, βέννος (an epithet of Zeus).⁴⁸ Undoubtedly βέκος (Neo-Phrygian texts nos. 33, 76, etc.), which may well have spread from there to Ionia and Cyprus.⁴⁹ Perhaps δοῦμος ‘religious society’ (perhaps etymologically related to the Greek θωμός), attested principally in the Middle Hermos basin.⁵⁰ Possibly to be classed as a lexical borrowing, the substitution of ποσ(-) for προσ(-), under the influence of Phrygian, which **(p.262)** had the preposition/preverb ποσ(-), identical in function to προ(-), and probably comparable etymologically to the Arcado-Cypriot word πός.⁵¹ This would explain the presence of certain forms and syntagms found in Greek inscriptions in Phrygia and the Middle Hermos (§ 1.2.2), such as ποσποιήσει, ποσάξει, ποστείμον, πὸς τὸν θεὸν, etc.⁵²

The Greek curses contain an intriguing semantic caique. If the use of προσφέρειν in the phrase μννημείω κακὸν προσφέρειν, exactly parallel to the Neo-Phrygian κνουμανι κακον αββερετορ (no. 73), can easily be accounted for by reference to the Greek (cf. χεῖράς τιμι προσφέρειν), the same cannot be said for προσποιεῖν in μννημείω κακὸν προσποιεῖν (e.g. no. 1, § 2.1.2): this use of Greek can only be understood as a caique of the Phrygian κνουμανει κακουν αδδακετ (no. 10 *et passim*).⁵³

2.2.4.

Yet it was not so much lexically as phonetically that Phrygian Greek was affected by Phrygian, i.e. by the ways in which native bilinguals tended to pronounce their words. I shall return here to two features already touched upon briefly.

2.2.4.1.

The first is manifested in alternations of spelling between κ and χ, π and φ, τ and θ, e.g. at Laodiketa Katakekaumene, κάριν μνης (MAMA i. 181) or τιγατρί (MAMA i. 272) and conversely πρεβιθέρω, θῆς (=τῆς), ἐπολιθεύσατο (MAMA i. 172). From their very earliest encounters with Greek, the Phrygians had assimilated the Greek aspirates to their own voiceless occlusives. Thus for as long as the Greek aspirates remained occlusives, Phrygian Greek had *p* for *ph*. Once the Greek aspirates had been spirantized, the gap between this regional Greek and the standard form became wider still: the former retained its *p* for the / of the latter. This peculiarity was clearly not exclusive to Phrygia: it occurs whenever Greek encountered a non-aspirated language, e.g. in Asia Minor in the areas adjacent to Phrygia, in Egypt, and in the **(p.263)** language ascribed by Aristophanes to his foreigners, etc. (Brixhe 1987 *a*: 11 off., 157).

2.2.4.2.

Speakers of Phrygian clearly had difficulties with the Greek cluster *st*, whether it occurred at the beginning of a word, in the middle, or in sandhi. It would appear to have been against the combinatory rules of Phrygian. The Phrygian speaker of Greek, for his part, responded instinctively in two ways. At the beginning of a word, by prothesis, the Anatolian examples of which are principally Phrygian, e.g. ἰστήλην, εἰσθήλ[η], *Εἰστρατόνικως* (for -κος), Ἑστεφάνω (*MAMA* i. 70, 161, 185, 188, 208, 217, 243, Laodikeia Katakekaumene).⁵⁴ Most often, and at any position in the word, perhaps in the context of a language which tended to form open syllables, by eliminating one of the two consonants: generally *s*, hence ἀνέτησα or εἰ (=εἰς) τὸν θεὸν, very rarely *t*, cf. τὴν σεῖλην for τὴν στήλην.⁵⁵ One should perhaps include the Neo-Phrygian *Εστον* (third person imperative singular), if indeed this is derived from **es-to:d* (Brixhe 1990: 81 ff., 90 ff.), or *τεττκμενος* (perfect participle) if derived from **ste-stig* (Greek στίζω).⁵⁶ The speaker's second response, with the reduction of *st*: to *t*, is also found elsewhere but is particularly common in Phrygia.

2.3. Areas in which the two languages converged?

Phrygian Greek eventually acquired its characteristic coloration thanks to two features which we might be tempted to view as the end results of trends already manifested independently in each of the two languages. Would we be wrong to take this view?

2.3.1.

Characteristic of Neo-Phrygian are its closed middle vowels (timbres *e* and *o*) at the ends of words (and to a lesser extent within them) in the case of short vowels and at any position in the case of long ones (Brixhe 1983: 119 ff.). Evolution towards this state of affairs had hardly begun in Palaeo-Phrygian: there we find only *o>u* at the end of a word, before a nasal. The change must have been well under way by the time of the Dokimeion text, i.e. the end of the fourth century BC (§ 1.1), which is to say before the **(p.264)** arrival of the Greeks.⁵⁷ If at this point the dative of σοπος is still⁵⁸ given as σοποι (dative singular), where later on we find σοπου (*infra*), we already see γλουρεος (i.e. **ghlo:r-*, Greek χλωρ).⁵⁹ This process of change has without doubt been brought to completion in Neo-Phrygian, where we find, for example, μυρα (no. 25) and μουρου[ν] (no. 100), from **mo:r-*, or again the dative σοπου (§ 2.1.2) with the same ending as the genitive του (no. 87), which is eventually spelt -ω, e.g. αρω (§ 2.1.1).⁶⁰

2.3.2.

The frequent occurrence in Phrygian of a nasal at the end of a word is best explained not by the solidity of the phoneme in this position but rather by its elimination, with the possible appearance of a parasitic nasal in the spelling, cf. κακεν for κακε (adverb) or, instead of the σεμου we would expect in the dative of the demonstrative, the quasi-generalization of σεμουν⁶¹ (§ 2.3.4).⁶²

2.3.3.

The Greeks who colonized Phrygia very probably came from a variety of different places. From a methodological perspective it would be improper to make out that they all came from one particular region in an attempt to show that they carried in their Koine one of the trends which we have just found already at work in Phrygian.⁶³ This notwithstanding: (1) the narrowing of the long and short middle vowels, or just the long, was a process which affected a large dialectal area of continental Greece, stretching from Attica to Macedonia and taking in Boeotia and Thessaly on the way. We know of the spread of this phenomenon into the northern dialects of Modern Greek. (2) In a dialect such as Attic, a major source of the Koine, the final nasal was weak from an early stage. Would the convergence of Greek and Phrygian in these two areas explain the vigour of the processes under examination in Phrygian Greek?

2.3.4.

Whether or not this was the case, these changes were to **(p.265)** have profound and identical morphological consequences in both languages. In Phrygian, in the thematic singular endings a confusion into *u* arose between the accusative (< *-*on*), the genitive (*-*owo* > -*o:*), and the dative (-*o:i*), cf. *σῆμουν* (more common than *σῆμου*), accusative and especially dative (§ 2.3.2), and *σοπου*, a dative with the same ending as the genitive *του* (§ 2.3.1), etc. This gave rise to the same confusion between cases in the singular of stems ending in -*a:*, thus *μανκας*, *μανκαν*, *μανκαι*, originally the genitive, accusative, and dative respectively of a word denoting part of a tomb, but all employed indiscriminately as a dative (Brixhe 1997: 51). Unfortunately, we lack sufficient evidence to draw conclusions about the state of affairs in the plural. Judging from Greek, the dative and the genitive at least may have been confused. These same factors play a crucial role in the confusion between the genitive, dative, and sometimes the accusative in Phrygian Greek. We are familiar with the way in which the dative was eclipsed by the genitive in the southern dialects of Modern Greek. Phrygia may have been one of the epicentres of this change.

These case confusions are largely represented by thematic endings in the singular. There is no doubt that this mutation was driven by the singular. Changes in the singular would have triggered changes in both the plural and the other stems, even if these were not affected phonetically. Thus we have witnessed a proliferation of interchanges between the dative (and also accessorially the accusative) and the genitive. There is every likelihood that, during the second and third centuries, the dative ceased to be used in the everyday spoken language of the region, even though it was constantly reintroduced into written language by scholarly usage.⁶⁴

3. Conclusion

It goes without saying that the Phrygianized Greek glimpsed in the above does not constitute all the Greek in use in Phrygia: use of this form was associated with certain positions in the social hierarchy. Phrygian Greek was a continuum (from the standard to the very lowliest forms) which ran in parallel with the social hierarchy. Those at the top (Greeks, native aristocracy, Greek-speaking **(p.266)** Romans) used, or attempted to use, a language identical, possibly in all but accent, to that employed by those in a similar position in the social hierarchy throughout the Greek world. Public documents demonstrate that the written version of this standard tongue remained close to the language of Demosthenes. Phrygianized Greek was probably not uniform: the proportion of local variants it included would have been dependent upon the learning of the speaker. Whatever its degree of Phrygianization, this form of Greek would probably have carried with it certain social and geographical (or ethnic) connotations. At its most Phrygian, was this form of Greek sufficiently different from the standard to deserve to be called a dialect? This I would be loath to deny. If it was a dialect, it would have been one of the first Modern Greek dialects to emerge from the diversification of the Koine (Brixhe 1987 *a*: 27). Unfortunately, it must have been lost in the wake of the Arabian incursions which began in the seventh century and the Seljuk invasions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, just as these eliminated Phrygian in the mass movement of peoples to which they gave rise (Brixhe 1987 *a*: 11). In any event, it did not make it to the Treaty of Lausanne (24 July 1923).

Notes:

- (1) Ancient testimonies collected in Rodríguez Blanco *et al.* I 1987) 147 ff.
- (2) Cf. Roller (1987) 103 ff.; *Bulletin éigraphique* (1990) 770.
- (3) Unpublished text discovered by Thomas Drew-Bear.
- (4) Palaeo-Phrygian inscriptions are identified in accordance with their system of numerical references.
- (5) Cf. Darga (1993 [1994]) 488, 497.
- (6) This chronology is confirmed in its closing phase by a typology of the doorstones, privileged bearers of texts, cf. Drew-Bear and Lochman (1996) 109 ff. Neo-Phrygian inscriptions are identified in accordance with the system of numerical references by Haas (1966).
- (7) The area within which monuments of this kind have been found is bounded at its northern edge by Germa. Pessinous. and Ankara.
- (8) Most of the epigraphic material discovered here can be found in TAM v/i and Naour (1981); (1983 *a*); (1983 *b*). Details of pagan denominations in the region are collected in Petzl (1994).

(9) See the comments made by Naour (1981) 15–16, 24.

(10) *Ποσαμαρτήσεται and ποσαμάρτη* cf. Naour (1981) nos. 1 and 4.

(11) See Brixhe (1989–90), The precise location of the find (in one of the tumuli at İkiztepe, near Güre, about 6 or 7 km. from the Hermos and 30 km. south-east of Silendos) is given in Özgen and Öztürk (1996) 17 (map), 28 ff., 48 ff. (the tumuli), 106, no. 60 (the object with its inscription).

(12) Cf. Masson (1987) 151–2.

(13) Nos. 49–50 are Greek, cf. Brixhe (1999 *b*) 287ff.

(14) Doorstones were found, but there were neither neo-Phrygian texts, nor occurrences of ποσ(-) in the Greek inscriptions, nor imprecations.

(15) One thing is more or less certain about Pessinous: the Hellenization of members of the Phrygian élite which took place there must have been accelerated by that of the Galatians, who seem to have lost their original language quite soon after arriving.

(16) For a translation see Sartre (1995) 324.

(17) This crucial reform clearly predates both of the documents mentioned: would it perhaps have taken place under Claudius (Debord 1982: 57)? It would seem that the title ‘Attis’, traditionally reserved for the high priest, was extended at that time to cover all the members of the college. We do not know whether there were ethnic criteria for the role of high priest.

(18) Compare the addition of a Latin formula to our epitaphs or that of a verse of the Qu’rān to Turkish epitaphs.

(19) This may also be true of no. 103 (=MAMA vii. 214. pl. 13): the text in Greek (an epitaph followed by a blank space equivalent in size to the preceding inscription), followed by a Phrygian curse, followed finally by a Greek curse. The two curses are clearly the work of the same hand, cf. the lunate epsilon and sigma. The Greek epitaph, which uses the lunate sigma (and on one occasion the squared sigma), but the squared epsilon, could be by a different person. It is possible that the pairs were inscribed at different times.

(20) In the case of no. 48, the beginning of which has been lost, what remains in Phrygian as in Greek may very well be nothing but a curse. For the last word on the matter see the intelligent analysis of Lubotzky (1997*b*): 115 ff.).

(21) Cf. Mitchell (1980) 1055 if.; Sartre (1885) 276 ff.

(22) See Mitchell’s map (1980) 1056.

(23) On this text see Brixhe (1993 *b*) 332–3, 341 *πουρ Ουανακτραν ... Ουρανιον;* (1997) 69 *πουρ Ουανακταν κ€ Ουρανιον;* (1999*b*) 294 *γεγαριτμενο €ιτου*.

(24) On the inflection of this name cf. § 1.4, on the genitive ending *-ου/-ω* cf. § 2.3, 1.

(25) Part of the common inheritance of Greek and Phrygian. See Brixhe (1990) 75; (1993 *b*) 332–3

(26) Cf. Haas (1996) no. 16, between Dorylaion and Nakoleia, dedicated to *Μηνι Ούρανίω κέ 'Απόλλωνι*, mistakenly included at an early stage in the Neo-Phrygian corpus.

(27) Cf. Brixhe (1990) 73 ff.; (1993 *b*) 340–1; (1994) 176–7. Cassola (1997) 145–0, apparently unaware of these contributions, recently concluded in favour of borrowing which is in fact the traditional argument.

(28) By contrast, *σταρνα* in no. 48 (Dorylaion), which may mean the same thing, could well be name to Phrygian.

(29) Cf. Kubinska (1968) index,

(30) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 129; (1990) 93, 95; (1993 *b*) 341; (1994) 175.

(31) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 129; (1993 *b*) 341; (1994) 175.

(32) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 127; (1990) 95; (1993 *b*) 341; (1994) 175.

(33) Cf. Brixhe (1990) 78.

(34) A further angle explored in Brixhe and Neumann (1985) 171–2: *κνουμαν* as the result of a cross between the Greek *κένυμα* and the Phrygian *keneman* (Palaeo M-oib)

(35) Cf. Brixhe (1978 *b*) 7, 13; (1993 *b*) 341.

(36) Cf. Brixhe (1978 *a*) 15 ff.; (1993 *b*) 341.

(37) Ramsay (1887) 397, no. XXII = Haas (1966) no. 22 is the only one to have actually seen the original text. Being Greek, it is taken up neither by Calder (1911) nor by Friedrich (1.932).

(38) Cf. Brixhe (1987 *a*) 86.

(39) Cf. Brixhe and Neumann (1985) 177; Brixhe (1990) 96.

(40) For the use of the term ‘accent’ cf. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) 5.

(41) Cf. Anderson (1899) 123, no. 131.

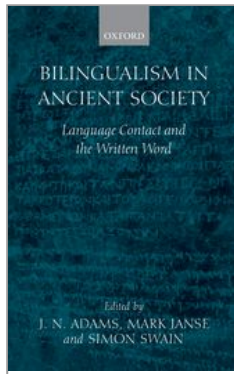
- (42) Cf. Calder (1911), 212–13, no. L xvi=Haas (1966) no. 66.
- (43) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 120; (1990) 78–9.
- (44) For examples see Brixhe (1987 *a*) 55.
- (45) Cf. παρέθον (§ 2.2.1).
- (46) On the possible absence of the augment see Brixhe (1987 *a*) 87–8.
- (47) Its very originality has, moreover, often earned regional Greek the label ‘barbarian’, See, in connection with the texts found at the sanctuary of Apollo Lerbenos, Brixhe (1987 *b*) 45 ff.
- (48) Cf. Brixhe (1993*b*) 342.
- (49) Cf. Brixhe (1993 *b*) 327 n, 13, 342.
- (50) Cf. Masson (1987) 145 ff.; Brixhe (1990) 93–4.
- (51) e.g. the third person singular preterite ποσέκανες (Bristle and Neumann 1985: 175–6).
- (52) ποσποιήσει (Aizanoi region, cf. Strubbe 1997: 159, 177), ποσάξει (western Phrygia, cf. Strubbe 1997: 167; Kotiaion region, cf. Strubbe 1997: 196), ποστείμον (sanctuary of Apollo Lerbenos, *MAMA* iv. 277*b*), πός-τὸν θεόν (eastern Apameia, *MAMA* iv. 264). On this matter see Bristle and Neumann (1985) 175–6; Brixhe (1987*a*) 110–11, 156.
- (53) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 129; (1987 *a*) 105. This caique would imply that the semantic fields of the two verbs, Greek and Phrygian, overlapped at least in part.
- (54) Cf. Brixhe (1987 *a*) 115–16.
- (55) Examples taken from Brixhe (1987 *a*) 114.
- (56) Cf. Haas (1966) 88, 216.
- (57) A conclusion based on the inevitable delay between the appearance of such a change in spoken language and its emergence in written language.
- (58) However, morphemes are renowned for their inherent conservatism. Thus we cannot rule out the possibility that -οι is a historical spelling and that the process had already reached completion.
- (59) Cf. Brixhe (1990) 03.
- (60) Cf. Brixhe (1983) 111, 120–1.

(61) From the masculine/neuter accusative singular, of which this is the expected form (<*semon), but which became confused with the masculine/neuter dative (<*semo:i)?

(62) Cf. Brixhe (1978 *b*) 13–14; (1983) 123; (1997) 51–2.

(63) We have already mentioned (§§ 2.2.1, 2.2.2) the narrowing of [e] into [i] in Phrygian Greek.

(64) Cf. Brixhe (1987 *a*) 97 ff.; (1992) 145 ff.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Res Gestae Divi Saporis: Greek and Sasanian Anti-Roman Propaganda

ZEEV RUBIN

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Abstract and Keywords

The *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (RGDS) is an extraordinary inscriptional document, an account given by the Sasanian king Shāpūr I (240-271) of his empire, its extent and structure, of some of his exploits, mainly his wars against the Romans, and of some honours bestowed on distinguished members of the royal court, both living and dead. The name *Res Gestae* is therefore far from being an accurate description of the nature of this document, since it is appropriate only for one part of it, which by no means intends to cover the whole extent of the king's exploits. The inscription was set up in three languages: Middle Persian (now much mutilated), Parthian, and Greek. This chapter examines who the Greek-reading destinees of Sasanian royal propaganda in the district of Stakhr were supposed to be and the implications of the use of the Greek language on a royal monument erected at a spot beyond the range of Greek civilisation.

Keywords: inscription, Greek, Parthian, Middle Persian, royal propaganda, Sasanian monarchy

1. Some Questions about the Monument and its Nature

THE *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (henceforth *RGDS*) is an extraordinary inscriptional document. In essence it is an account given by the Sasanian king Shāpūr 1 (240–71)¹ of his empire, its extent and structure, of some of his exploits, mainly his wars against the Romans, and of some honours bestowed on distinguished members of the royal court, both living and dead. The name *Res Gestae* is therefore far from being an accurate description of the nature of this document, since it is appropriate only for one part of it, which by no means intends to cover the whole extent of the king's exploits. The title *Res Gestae* was conferred by none other than M. I. Rostovtzeff, on the analogy of the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*,² and it is popular especially among historians of the Roman Empire. Experts in Sasanian history prefer to derive the name of the inscription from its site. It was laid bare, between 1936 and 1939, at the base of the so-called Ka'ba of Zoroaster (Ka'ba-ye Zardošt), at the foot of the monumental rock reliefs of Naqš-i Rostām, a **(p.268)** few kilometres north of Persepolis.³ It is therefore frequently referred to as *Shāpūr—Ka'ba-ye Zardošt*, or in an abbreviated form, *Shāpūr-KZ* (*ŠKZ*). Its indisputable importance lies not only in the fact that it is a detailed piece of contemporary evidence for the history of an empire which is otherwise poorly documented, but also in its very nature as a document of the highest official stamp.⁴

The inscription was set up in three languages, Middle Persian (now much mutilated), Parthian, and Greek. That the king's victories should be advertised in Middle Persian, his own language, the language of Fars, the region where his father arose and started his bid for power, is only too natural. That they should be proclaimed in Parthian, the language of the deposed Arsacid dynasty, still the language of many of the more important dignitaries who visited his court, is not less understandable.⁴ Moreover, there is good reason **(p.269)** to believe that from the point of view of the efficacy of its propagandistic message the Parthian version was every bit as important as the Middle Persian.⁶ But who were the Greek-reading destinees of Sasanian royal propaganda in the district of Stakhr supposed to be?

The purpose of the present paper is not only to suggest an answer to this question, but also to explore the very implications of the use of the Greek language on a royal monument erected at a spot beyond the range of Greek civilization, and to try to highlight those linguistic data, provided by what survives of its three texts, which help to explain the genesis of the document and the process of its composition. The paper is, however, not written from a linguist's point of view, but rather from that of a historian, whose main interest is in the interaction between the civilizations represented in the three texts on the monument against the background of the struggle of a newly established royal dynasty to consolidate its position at the head of a realm destined to be the main rival of the Roman Empire in late antiquity.

(p.270) 2. The Three Versions of the *Rods* and their Relation to One Another

Until recently there was a satisfactory edition only of the Greek text of the trilingual inscription (Maricq 1958). The publication of all three texts of this inscription—the Parthian, the Greek, and the Middle Persian—in the stencil edition of Sprengling (1953) could not be described as completely adequate, and it was not easily accessible. Another edition containing all three texts, set in three parallel columns, was made by Michael Back (1978: 284–371). This volume contains, besides the *RGDS*, the texts of the other Sasanian inscriptions of official character, but not the Paikuli inscription, the only surviving Sasanian inscriptional document of comparable magnitude (on which see further p. 271 below). The Iranian texts are given in crude, unvocalized Latin transliteration, with the Aramaic ideograms in capitals. There is a consecutive German translation, based on a combination of all three versions, at the bottom of each page.⁷ Though it has been severely criticized by some of its reviewers (see e.g. MacKenzie 1982, whose incisive criticism is at least partly retracted in MacKenzie 1989), it was at the time when this paper was written the most easily accessible publication of the official Sasanian inscriptions, and it is therefore to this edition that references to the texts will be keyed in what follows. It was only when the paper was completed that a new edition of all three texts of the *RGDS*, with a German translation of each one of them separately, saw the light (Huyse 1999: vol. i), unfortunately too late for me to incorporate a complete set of references besides those to Back's edition. Volume ii, containing commentaries and appendices, firmly reasserts a few points of view with which I happen to disagree and which require a detailed response. I have decided that the best way of responding under the present circumstances is by means of a long appendix, which will be referred to wherever necessary in the course of the following discussion.

The very existence of a Greek version may be understood as a surprising indication that people who could read Greek might be expected to see the inscription, and that the image of the Sasanian king in their eyes was regarded as a matter of importance in **(p.271)** Shāpūr I's court, probably because of their connection with the Roman world. Who were these people, and what was the nature of this connection? These are questions which I have dealt with elsewhere (Rubin 1998). Suffice it to state here that the very fact that a need was felt to include a Greek version in a document of the magnitude of the *RGDS* calls for an explanation.⁸ By comparison, it may be pointed out that it is absent from the famous Paikuli inscription, set up by King Narseh (293–302) in commemoration of his triumph over his rival for supreme power, Bahrām III, at the Paikuli Pass in the upper course of the Diyāla, on the road between Baghdād and Sulaimaniya.⁹ This inscription contains only two versions, a Parthian and a Middle Persian. One possible explanation for the difference between these two monuments is that the propagandistic message of the Paikuli inscription was directed at the population within the confines of the Sasanian empire only, whereas that of the *RGDS* was meant to appeal to the subjects of the Roman Empire as well.¹⁰ Such an explanation does not help to remove all the difficulties, and this too is a question to which we shall have to return below.¹¹

The decision to glorify the exploits of King Shāpūr in a trilingual inscriptional monument must have involved some initial concept **(p.272)** about the relation of the three texts to one another. If this aspect of the monument is to be judged by the end result, the concept seems to have been that the three texts should correspond to one another, both in content and in wording, as closely as possible. Differences in detail between each one of the three versions and the two others do exist; occasionally, indeed, none of the three is exactly identical with either of the others. Yet these differences do not amount to a violation of this basic principle. Indeed, if we accept that editions which set out the three versions in parallel columns¹²—a procedure which brings out differences in detail with some clarity—have a point, that point derives from the fundamental, overall correspondences of all three, not only in content, but also in detail.

This decision seems to have involved the author of the Greek in a number of considerable difficulties. A more independent version which would not read like an attempt at a verbal translation of one of the Iranian texts would make it possible to get the intended message through, and would help to circumvent the pitfalls of untranslatable terms and idioms. The preamble to the *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* (e.g. in Ehrenberg and Jones 1975: 2–3) comes to mind, with its imprecise translation into Greek of the Latin original. This suggests that our Greek translator might have done much to simplify the complicated terminology and make it more understandable to a foreign readership.¹³ Such a procedure would even have opened up the possibility of publicizing a theme or two that would not have been considered useful or appropriate in one of the Iranian versions, but might be quite effective in the Greek, if it is assumed that its content was ultimately meant to be broadcast across the frontier, into territories under Roman rule. One recalls, for instance, the letter of the proconsul of Asia concerning the introduction of a new calendar in 9 BC, whose surviving Latin fragment asserts that the time when the magistrates of the cities of Asia enter office happens to be *idem tempus anni ... in quod [for]uito videlicet ut honoraretur, principis nostri natalis incidit* ‘at the same time of the year ... that by chance, coincides with our princeps’ birthday, evidently so that it may be honoured’, whereas the Greek translation speaks of this coincidence as having occurred *δηλον ὅτι κατὰ τινα θείαν βούλησιν (p.273) οὕτως τῆς τάξεως προτετυπωμένης ἕνα ἀφορμὴ γένοιτο τῆς εἰς Σεβαστὸν τιμῆς* ‘the order of events having thus been shaped in advance, evidently according to some divine scheme, in order that it should serve as a starting-point for bestowing honours on Augustus’.¹⁴ Another example that may be pointed out is that of the two Axumite inscriptions commemorating King ‘Ezana’s victory over the Noba and the Kasu. In the version in the Ge’ez language the opening is only vaguely monotheistic, invoking ‘the power of the Lord of Heaven, who is triumphant over <every> being which is in heaven and earth’.¹⁵ Its Greek correspondent is openly Christian: *ἐν τῇ πίστι τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πατρὸς καὶ υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου πνεύματος, τῷ σώσαντί μοι τὸ βασίλειον τῇ πίστι τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ χριστοῦ κτλ.* ‘in the faith of God, and in the power of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, who has saved the kingship for me, on account of <my> faith in his Son Christ etc.’¹⁶

In the case of the *RGDSO* one such theme might well have been a proclamation of the Achaemenian origin of the Sasanian dynasty. As noticed by Ehsan Yarshater,¹⁷ it is a theme that looms large in Roman sources, but its explicit mention is strikingly absent from **(p.274)** the contemporary inscriptional monuments of the early Sasanian period, and from the main line of traditions concerning the genealogy of the Sasanian dynasty, which crystallized during the later Sasanian period; in these it was only clumsily grafted on to another theme, that of the dynasty's descent from the mythological Kayanians. Elsewhere (Rubin 1998: 179–80) I have pointed out that its attribution by Cassius Dio (80. 3. 4) and Herodian (6. 2. 2) to Ardashīr I, and by Ammianus Marcellinus (17. 5. 3) to Shāpūr II, is much more a reflection of the kind of propaganda directed by the Sasanian kings at the Roman Empire than of what they desired to disseminate among their own subjects. The Greek version of the *RGDS* might have provided a platform for insistence on this theme. Such an insistence would have helped to stress the king's claim that his repeated invasions of Roman territories were all in response to Roman aggression (even the third one, for his own assault against Carrhae and Edessa, in the course of which he was attacked by Valerian, was considered by him as a campaign to recover two cities in his own domain: see Rubin 1998: 183–4). It might have been urged that an attack on any Roman territory once held by the Achaemenians was justified as an act meant to redress the consequences of aggression against the Iranian empire. Yet the Greek text of the *RGDS* fails to benefit from this obvious advantage, in all likelihood because the Iranian texts have nothing of this kind, and the policy adopted in the translation was to be as literal as possible. The result of this policy is thus a Greek version whose impact is, perhaps, much less effective than it might have been.

The only version autographed with a scribe's name is the Parthian one: he identifies himself as Hormizd, the son of Šilak. Was he also the one responsible for the Middle Persian and the Greek versions? This is at least what the publisher of the *editio princeps* thought (Sprengling 1940 b: 331–3; 1940c: 342–3). In spite of differing opinions voiced since, the powerful indications that this may well be the case cannot be easily dismissed. As for the insistence on the Middle Persian version as the original, King Shāpūr's *ipsissima verba* (see e.g. Mancini 1988: 91), the concept seems to be based on little more than an unprovable assumption about the working of the *scriptorium* of the Sasanian monarchy.¹⁸ The indications that the Greek version follows a text composed by a Parthian, rather **(p.275)** than a Middle Persian, author are to be found much more in its content than in its language. True, there are many imprecisions in the translation into Greek, correctly pointed out by the scholars who have devoted their attention to the study of this document.¹⁹ Thus, for example, what has been described by Sprengling as 'the hit and miss use of the cases' may be pointed out (for one glaring example of the use of the nominative where the accusative ought to have been used see the appendix, § A. 4). Another phenomenon exposing, according to Sprengling, the Iranian background of the author of the Greek version is the fact that the Iranian construction *pad* (meaning, 'in', 'at', or 'by') followed by a substantive is translated into Greek literally, by εἰς followed by a substantive in the accusative, where the dative might have been expected in Greek.²⁰ These features may be and have been explained away by those who still wish to advocate the author's Greek origin, but their accumulation is too considerable to allow for any other assessment than that the language is what might be called 'learner's Greek'.²¹ Yet even if it is assumed that the author was non-Greek, these faults may be imputed to any Iranian who had acquired knowledge of Greek as a second language, not specifically a Parthian as opposed to a Persian.²² It is rather the fact that the whole spiritual horizon **(p.276)** of the author is that of one who had learnt his trade in the diplomatic archives of the Parthian empire. The impressive array of provinces from which Valerian is said to have enlisted his army (Back 1978: 307–12; Huyse 1999: i. 34–6) is the best illustration of those characteristics of the *RGBS* that give rise to this impression. That Judaea (Back 1978: 311; Huyse 1999: i. 36) is one of them is just one example of a glaring anachronism, and some of the regions mentioned were hardly good recruiting areas at the time when this text was written.²³ All in all, we are concerned here precisely with the kind of information that might be stored in the archives of the Parthian realm.

A more detailed analysis of the three texts fails to provide decisive evidence for the use of either the Middle Persian or the Parthian text as the Greek author's *Vorlage*. Stronger influence of the Parthian is demonstrable on the whole, but there are places where reference to a Middle Persian original seems to be in evidence (thus e.g. MacDonald 1979; Mancini 1987: 90–2). On the whole the best hypothesis concerning the genesis of all three versions does not appear to be any one of the four possibilities outlined by MacDonald (1979: 81). All of these start from the assumption that a lost original Middle Persian text, dictated by the king himself, and taken down in cursive Middle Persian script, underlies all the extant versions. The first possibility he posits is that a final Middle Persian draft was then translated into Parthian, and that the Greek version is based on this Parthian translation. The second possibility is that the extant versions of both the Middle Persian and the Parthian texts were made on the basis of the lost original Middle Persian text, and that the Greek version follows both alternately. The third possibility is that both the Parthian and the Greek texts as we possess them were translated from the extant Middle Persian version, made in turn on the basis of the lost Middle Persian draft. The fourth possibility, and the one preferred by MacDonald himself, is **(p.277)** that all three extant versions derive, each one independently, from the lost Middle Persian original text.

A much more economic and reasonable explanation than all of these would be a modified version of the one proposed already by Sprengling (1940b: 331–3; 1940c: 342–3). The only scribe whose name appears on the monument was the one who received oral instructions from the king concerning the content and the form of what he wanted to be inscribed on his monument. He was also provided with lists of place names and provinces, most probably in Middle Persian, by a scribe of the king's military staff (perhaps one of those who have left their mark in the dipinti of the Dura Europos Synagogue). The lists of the king's relatives and dignitaries to be honoured on the monument were probably likewise compiled on the basis of his general instructions, either by the scribe himself or by others instructed to fulfil this task. Since this scribe was Parthian himself, the initial draft that he wrote was in Parthian; the Parthian version is therefore the one which he endorsed with his signature. Then he proceeded to prepare both the Middle Persian and the Greek versions, referring occasionally, but not entirely systematically, to the lists of place names and provinces that he had in front of him, as well as to the guidelines dictated by the king, to modify one version or another (see also the appendix, § B). I do not find it very likely that the busy king himself really dictated the whole text, including all its detailed lists. On the other hand, I do not believe that any scribe commissioned to work on such a document would have taken it upon himself to depart on his own initiative from the basic pattern outlined by the king.

3. Iranian Concepts in Greek Garb—A Few Rendering Problems

Yet the few rendering problems that I intend to survey in the present paper illustrate not the specific problems of the scribe as a Parthian as distinct from a Persian (for the required comparison the badly mutilated Middle Persian text is hardly adequate), but those of an Iranian who labours hard to express in Greek a cluster of concepts and ideas taking shape in the young Sasanian monarchy. His problems with Greek are not primarily those of vocabulary, but **(p.278)** rather those encountered today by many educated people who write in a language which is not their own. One of these is the correct application of complicated grammatical rules which one learnt in one's youth with great effort, and which are frequently half forgotten, to a particular text one is called upon to write. Another is the difficulty of choosing appropriate idiomatic expressions and of countering the assumption that what works in one's own language may work equally well in a word-for-word translation into a foreign language. Yet another one is that of choosing from a range of possibilities the word most suitable for a given context. finally there is the problem of the translation of words or expressions whose meaning is highly specialized in the writer's own language, and for which no exact alternatives can be found in the language of the text he is writing.

3.1.

The Greek word θεός translates two different words in the Iranian texts. One of them is 'bgy' in Middle Persian, which occurs as an Aramaic ideogram, 'L? (for which read *bag*), in Parthian (See Gignoux 1972: s.vv.). The other underlies the plural θεοί in the phrase ἐκ γένους θεῶν *v*, used to express the divine origin of the king, which is the translation of the MP 'MNW čtry MN yzt'n' (*kē čīhr az yazdān*), and the Parth. 'MNW šy?r MN y'ztn' (*kē čīhr až yazdān*) (see Maricq 1958: 305; cf. Huyse 1999: i. 22)—i.e. 'whose origin is from the gods'.²⁴

A distinction in meaning between the two terms in Middle Iranian is offered by Herzfeld: Yazd is a divinity of a higher order, and the most outstanding representative of the *yazdān* is Ohrmazd, the supreme Zoroastrian god himself, whereas the most characteristic representative of the inferior order of the *bagān* would be Mithra²⁵ (whose role in the Zoroastrian pantheon, as guardian of covenants, is different from his function as a solar god, identifiable with Sol Invictus, in which guise he appears in the Roman world).

The distinction made by Christensen is much more accurate (1944: 260 n. 1): ‘*bagh* est l’appellatif ancien-perse des êtres divins (*baga-*), *yazdan* est la désignation particulièrement zoroastrienne’. (p.279) As for the use of the term *bag* as the title of kings, he adds: ‘La distinction entre les deux termes dans les litres du grand roi est significative.’ It is therefore clear that according to his definition too it is only *bag* that may be applied to mortal kings. One wonders whether in a translation into Latin it would be appropriate to use the name *divus* to translate *bag* when applied to kings, or whether it would be considered as a term of ill omen, since *divus* was a title conferred on demised emperors (incidentally a reason given by Nero, when he rejected a proposal in the senate to honour him with the erection of a temple to Divus Nero: Tac. *Ann.* 15. 73. 3–4).

To anyone familiar with the ceremonial language used to describe the living Roman emperor at the time when our monument was set up, it might appear rather strange that the monarch of the rival empire might refer to himself as θεός in a Greek document. In the Roman Empire the etiquette surrounding the emperor still required that all the manifestations of the imperial cult should be the consequence of his subjects’ initiative, to which he himself acceded, graciously if somewhat reluctantly, occasionally curbing displays of excessive adulation. On the other hand, both in Parthian and in Middle Persian a ready-made terminology seems to have existed which could easily and economically convey the idea of a monarch with divine attributes, superior to the rest of mankind, and yet inferior and subservient to the supreme deities of the Zoroastrian pantheon.

3.2.

The king’s piety is described in terms of his being ‘mzdysn’ in Middle Persian, and ‘mzdyzn’ in Parthian, i.e. ‘the Mazda-worshipping’.²⁶ This adjective is not translated into Greek, but is rather transliterated and given the termination of a Greek declension, both in this (Back 1978: 284) and in other Sasanian inscriptions where Greek is still used. This is the case in the monumental inscription of Ardashīr I at Naqsh-e Rostām (Back 1978: 281), and that of Shāpūr I, at Naqsh-e Rostām (Back 1978: 283), where it is repeated twice, both for himself and for his father Ardashīr I.²⁷ It is (p.280) interesting to note that such easily available Greek terms as εὐσεβής or θεοσεβής were apparently considered inadequate equivalents.

3.3.

Another term which is rendered by means of an approximate transliteration without being translated is the Parthian ‘wrhr’n’ in the combination ‘trw wrhr’n’ (*ādur warhrān*), literally ‘the hires of Warhrān’ (see Back 1978: 330; Huyse 1999: i. 45). The Greek equivalent given is *πυρεῖ α Γυαραθραν* (on which see Marieq 1958: 316 n. 1). The Middle Persian equivalent would be, on the basis of information both in the inscriptions commemorating the exploits of Kirdēr, the great Zoroastrian priest, contemporary of king Shāpūr I and his immediate successors, and in the Paikuli inscription, ‘twry wlhl’n’ (*ādur warhrān*) (thus now also Huyse, loc. cit.).²⁸

The translation of this term into any language would indeed be difficult. It would have been very hard to find a Greek god whose name might be conveniently substituted for that of Warhrān (Aves-tan god Vereθragna) in a combination that forms a term applicable to the sacred fires dedicated by Shāpūr. The translator might, of course, have taken his cue from the fact that the Avestan Warhrān was a warrior god, in order to identify him with either Ares or Herakles. He might even have chosen to introduce him by means of more than one identification, a method adopted in the famous Nemrud-Dagh inscription, dedicated by Antiochus I of Commagene, where Warhrān is given the names of *both* Ares *and* Herakles (OGI 383: 11. 53-6). But would the combination *Ἀρεως πυρεῖ α* or *Ἡρακλέους πυρεῖ α* have really rendered the accurate meaning of *πυρεῖ α Γυαραθραν*? Was there ever an association between either of these two Hellenic deities and the notion of a sacred fire, engaged in triumphant conflict against evil, as close as that between Warhrān and *ādur* (the term used to express ‘sacred fire’ in the Sasanian inscriptions) or *ātaxš* (the term used for the same purpose in Book Pahlavī)?²⁹

3.4.

The Greek relinquishes the policy it generally follows of **(p.281)** sticking as far as possible to the literal meaning of the Iranian text when it has to face the difficulty of giving precise equivalents for titles of rank and office. The Parthian ‘hštrdr w ptykwspn’ (*šahrδār ud pādīgōsbān*) is imprecisely rendered as δεσπότης τῶν ἐθνῶν (Maricq 1958: 307, 1. 6; Back 1978: 289; Huyse 1999: i. 25).³⁰ Gignoux translates *hštrdry* as ‘gouverneur’ (1972: s.v.), and *ptykwspn* as ‘gou-verneur de région’ (ibid.: s.v), deriving this meaning *ixom* *ptykws* in Parthian, and *p’tkwsy* in Middle Persian. A much higher rank for *hštrdry* is, however, indicated in the Hājjīābād inscription and its twin, the Tang i Boraq inscription, which put the *šahryārān* on the highest rung of a ladder of dignitaries (Back 1978: 374); they are followed by *wispuhrān*, the *wuzurgān*, and the *azadān*.³¹ The *pāygōsbān* is in all likelihood an office-bearer who would be **(p.282)** included among the *wuzurgān* in the hierarchy of the Hājjīābād inscription.³²

Without entering at the present moment into all the details of the elaborate *Rangordnung* which was evolving in the Sasanian monarchy already at this early stage of its existence, the like of which would come into being in the Roman Empire only from the fourth century onwards (the period habitually referred to as the 'later Roman Empire'), it is important to understand the nature of the difficulty that had to be faced by any translator who had to provide satisfactory equivalents for a terminology expressing this official Sasanian ranking system in Greek. What we are concerned with here is basically an elaborate system of ranks and titles masking a political reality, much of it inherited from the Arsacid, Parthian monarchy, in which the king found it very hard to maintain effective control over all the territories that he claims in the *RODS* to be under his suzerainty, and the loyalty of whose local lords he manages to retain only by showering on them the rewards of constant successful warfare. This is by and large the true story that lies behind the lofty pretensions proclaimed by our document.

An altogether different question is whether such departures from the underlying version were entirely up to the initiative of the scribe. An affirmative reply to this question does not tally well with the guideline apparently followed of seeking full correspondence not only in content but also in structure, and, as far as possible, even in wording. This question will be further discussed below.

3.5.

Roth ἔθνος in Greek and *hštr* in Parthian, or *štr-y* in Middle Persian (transcribed *šahr* by Huyse in both languages), have a wide range of meanings. In the Greek version of the *RGDS* (Maricq (p.283) 1958: 311, 11. 20–3; Back 1978: 307–31; Huyse 1999: i. 34–6), ἔθνος bears the meaning of ‘province’ (*provincia* in Latin, and an equivalent for ἐπαρχία in Greek), but in a rather loose and imprecise manner. Some of the regions, all referred to as ἔθνος in the list of places where Valerian is said to have raised his army, are, as already pointed out, not proper provinces: e.g. Pamphylia, for which the Greek version has the erroneous Campania (cf. n. 23 above), Phrygia, Isauria (which ought to be substituted for the first of the two mentions of Syria in this list, if this is indeed the region meant by the Parthian ‘swry’, as suggested by Henning 1952: 515), and the impossible Greek rendering as ‘Amastria’ of whatever may be intended by the Parthian ‘stry’ (Middle Persian ‘st[]’). At one place, the Greek text (Maricq 1958: 307, 1. 7; Huyse 1999: i. 25) seems to make a faltering attempt to distinguish between the Roman Empire, for which Πρωμαίων ἀρχή is used, and other nations, for which it uses the word ἔθνη. On the other hand, the Parthian text uses *hštr* both for the Roman Empire on the one hand and for the Goths and the Germans on the other (Back 1978: 290–1; Huyse, loc. cit.). The futility of this attempted distinction is exposed by the translation of the word *štr-y* (Middle Persian), or *hštr* (Parthian), when used for the entire extent of Shāpūr’s dominion in Iran, by means of the Greek ἔθνος. Now if ἀρχή was meant to denote a more elevated kind of political entity than ἔθνος, should not Shāpūr’s empire have deserved it not less than the Roman Empire? But then, the same text reverts to the use of ἔθνος τῶν Πρωμαίων ἀπὸ τῶν Αναριανῶν as a translation for the Middle Persian ‘hrwm’dyk štr-y [MN ‘nyl] ‘n’ (*Hrōmāyīn šahr [az Anē]rān*), and the Parthian ‘Prwmyn hštr MN ‘ny’ry’n’ later on (*Frōmāyīn šahr aš Anērān*), whose literal meaning would be ‘the land of the Romans, of *Anērān*’, i.e. ‘the land of the Romans, belonging to the areas which are not part of Iran’ (Maricq 1958: 345, 1. 34; Back 1978: 325; Huyse 1999: i. 43).

Yet the very attempt to apply a special terminology to the Roman Empire, albeit transient and abortive, may be characterized as just one more aspect of the special attitude towards the Roman Empire betrayed by the document as a whole. I have already pointed out its noticeable tendency to depict Shāpūr's wars against the Roman Empire as responses to aggression, a tendency that would have provided a proper context for the theme of Achaemenian descent, which it fails to mention (p. 274 above). This tendency is tantamount to the description of the wars against Rome in terms of a **(p.284)** *bellum iustum*, as I have attempted to show in another context (Rubin 1998: 182–4). No such tendency is discernible in the treatment of wars against other nations in the *RGDS*. On the contrary, it is immediately noticeable that so far as these wars are concerned, no attempt is made to conceal the totally aggressive character of the king's bellicose activity. The phrase *πολλὰ ἔθνη ἐζητήσαμεν* 'we have sought out many peoples' occurs three times in the inscription. Twice it is stressed that Shāpūr's victories were obtained with divine aid, but there is no implication that any further plea, such as an ancestral title to lost lands, comparable to the one his father had put forward according to Cassius Dio and Herodian, was needed to justify these aggressive wars of conquest. Towards the end of the inscription the king expresses his hope that this type of divine grace will be extended to his heirs as well (Maricq 1958: 331, 11. 69–70; cf. Back 1978: 369–70; Huyse 1999: i. 63). The sole justification of war against other nations, according to this ideology, is that conquest is inherent in a good king's duty as the appointee and protege of the gods. His special attitude to the Roman Empire foreshadows the one to be found in sources containing the residues of later Sasanian propaganda, such as the Persian *Farsnāmāh*, ascribed to Ibn al-Balkhi, where a special place is set aside for the throne of the Roman emperor, beside those of the king of India and the king of the Khazars, below that of Khusro Anushirwan, but above those of all the other potentates and dignitaries of the Sasanian monarchy (Le Strange and Nicholson 1962: 97).

3.6.

Such terms as *hazāruft* (literally ‘commander of a thousand warriors’, but most probably, as the very appearance of a man bearing this title in the *RGDS* suggests, a dignitary of a much higher rank than the one that would be implied by the Greek χιλίαρχος), *bidaxš* ‘viceroys’, and *aspbed* ‘commander of the cavalry’ will not be discussed in detail in the present paper. These are not translated but approximately transliterated: ἄζαρίπτου, πιτιάξου, and ἀσπιπίδου, all these with a genitive ending, all in apposition to a name in the genitive, to denote the person whose memory (μνεία) is to be celebrated (*hazāruft* and *bidaxš* also more phonetically transcribed as ἄζαροπτ and βιδιξ, without case endings). Some light on the reason that led the translator to adopt this technique is shed by the term ταρκάπησιν in the particular context where it occurs. This turns out to be the Hellenized form of the Middle Persian ‘tlykpysny’ (*tarkafišn*), or **(p.285)** the Parthian ‘trkpyšn’ (*tarkafišn*), apparently meaning an annual surplus of livestock, customarily set aside for the king’s use (rendered in Gignoux 1972: 35, of. 65, as ‘surplus’). In our particular context it constitutes the livestock supply out of which Shāpūr proposes to make his donations for the honorific sacrifices whose institution he proclaims. The difficulty in translating expressions of this kind appears to be purely technical, namely the problem, of finding exact equivalents in Greek for terms with a highly specialized meaning in Iranian, and it has nothing to do with differences in mentality or in the conception of statehood, which is the main subject that concerns us here.

It may be asked why the strategy adopted in the instance discussed in § 4, of avoiding the difficulty by means of a paraphrase, was not followed in our present set of cases. The answer may be connected with the idea that the paraphrase used in the other case brought out much better the intended allusion to the vast extent of Shāpūr’s realm by means of a reference to the great number of those governing them in his name, than the mere transliteration of Iranian terms would have done. On the other hand, in our present set of cases no propagandistic purpose was to be achieved by an attempt to paraphrase terms whose highly technical nature was quite obvious, and whose general meaning was thought to be made clear by the context. Thus, in the case of the examples touched upon above, the context makes it sufficiently clear that terms like ἄζαρίπτου represented titles of dignitaries, and that ταρκάπησιν stood for some kind of an allotment set aside for sacrificial purposes.

3.7.

One more expression which may be considered instructive for the understanding of the Sasanian ideology of royal power seems to have been a stumbling-block for the translator, and to have consequently given rise to much confusion in translations into modern languages—the term *dastgird* as the a description of the king's position in relation to the gods. This is a much-discussed subject, and the details of this discussion may be passed over on the present occasion.

Suffice it to say that the term appears in the Greek version both in approximate transliteration and in translation. It has two distinct meanings in our inscription, and in both these meanings the Greek word used to translate it, when it appears in translation, is κτίσμα. One of them is the denomination of the king's domain, where he resettled captives brought from the Roman Empire and from Anērān in **(p.286)** are said to have been settled ὅπου ἡμῶν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν καὶ πάππων προγόνων ἡμῶν κτίσματα ἦν 'wherever our κτίσματα as well as those of our father, our grandfathers, and our forebears happened to be'). This specific usage has been connected with the literal meaning of κτίσμα, as an abstract noun derived from κτίζω, synonymous with κτίσις, which means, among other things, 'foundation'. The term would thus be related to the Sasanian royal habit of pretending to have founded new cities in the king's domains whenever he had refurbished existing cities with a few buildings, and renamed them.³³ But what should we make of the king when he is described as the gods' κτίσμα? To describe him as the 'creature' of the gods (as suggested by Maricq 1958: 314 with n. 3) would be hardly adequate, since such a description would hardly set him off from the rest of humanity. Hence such translations as 'domain' (Boyce 1984: 111) and 'eigener Besitz' (Back 1978: 328) on the one hand, and 'ward' (Frye 1984: 372-3) or 'Schützling' (Back himself, in an alternative suggestion which he gives in brackets).³⁴ The Iranian word *dastgird* in the Iranian texts no doubt means that the king has been created by the gods for his position as their special asset. No wonder that the translator found it hard to render, and in one place he uses a combination of a Hellenized form of *dastgird* and the verb κτίζω (οἱ θεοὶ ἡμᾶς οὕτως δαστικερτας ἔκτισαν), whereas in another he asserts τῶν θεῶν κτίσμα ἐσμέν.³⁵ It may be added that this **(p.287)** is one more indication that the translator's problem with Greek is not so much the poverty of his vocabulary as his lack of confidence in choosing the word that would best suit a given context.

Another major problem connected with this particular terminology is its complete omission from the concluding statement in the Middle Persian version, which is in a much shorter form than in both the Parthian and the Greek versions (Back 1978: 368–70; Huyse 1999: i. 63).³⁶ This is the one really serious instance of a departure from the guideline policy followed in all three versions, that they should be identical as far as possible. Furthermore, it involves all those who assume that the inscription had an *Urtext* in Middle Persian in tremendous difficulties. Is it conceivable that the Parthian author would have introduced on his own initiative a concept not used in an original supposed to represent the king's *ipsissima verba* on his own initiative? Obviously this does not seem very likely. Hence the need felt by various scholars to provide complex stemmata illustrating the genesis of the three versions on the basis of the assumption that there were actually two Middle Persian versions. All of these stemmata are now beautifully summarized by Huyse (1999: ii. 191–201, including his own, *ibid.* 200). The main weakness of all of them is that they somehow must involve a scribe who, in producing his own Middle Persian text, could afford the licence of departing from an original Middle Persian text dictated by the king himself, whereas precisely those responsible for the Parthian and the Greek versions, which were less likely to be subject to close inspection, chose to adhere to the king's wording.

A preferable hypothesis may start from an observation made already by Henning (1958: 102–4), when he argued that Parthian and Middle Persian were not only two different dialects of the same language, but two different languages altogether. Comparing two **(p.288)** versions of the same Manichaean hymn, one in Parthian and one in Middle Persian, he demonstrated that even when two etymologically identical expressions for the same concept exist in both these languages, each frequently prefers expressions which are etymologically different, but apparently describe the same idea with greater precision. Can it be the case that the description of the king in terms of *daslgird*, considered to be natural and idiomatic in Parthian, was felt to be so awkward in Middle Persian that it was decided to present the idea of the divine patronage enjoyed by the king in two completely different forms? Of course, the irretrievable loss of the Middle Persian text in the other passage of the document where the same idea occurs in Parthian (Back 1978: 328; Huyse 1999: i. 45) makes it impossible to clinch this argument.³⁷

3.8.

There is, however, one point on which our translator's failure to supply an adequate Greek term appears to be not at all easily understandable. The king's decree to set up a series of sacred fires in gratitude to the gods for his victories he is said to have 'laid down in this writing'—*εἰς τοῦ το τὸ νιβυστ καθιδρύσαμεν* (Maricq 1958: 317, 1. 39)—where the Parthian reads 'pt-y npwšt YṭYBW-m', of which only '[np]šty' survives in Middle Persian (Back 1978: 330–1; Huyse 1999: i. 45; ii. 104, whose phonetic transcription is *pad nibušt nišayām*). Why, may it be asked, the transliteration of 'npwšt' as νιβυστ, instead of a Greek equivalent? After all, such an equivalent must have been readily available to one who used inflected forms of the verb γράφω in a nearby context. Was not the same author capable of using the phrase *εἰς ἔ γγραφον τοῦ ἀσφαλίσματος* to translate the Middle Persian 'MDM p'thštr' (*abar pādixšīr*) and the Parthian 'pr ptyštr' (Maricq 1958: 319, 1. 44; Back 1978: 335; Huyse 1999: i. 48, transcribing this phrase into Parthian likewise *abar pādixšīr*)—literally, 'in a legal document of guarantee'—as the description of the procedure whereby a legal document is used to guarantee regular supplies for the sacrifices ordained to be made at those fires? Since enough has been said to rule out sheer negligence **(p.289)** through haste, one explanation appears to provide a satisfactory reply. The term νιβυστ, when applied to something promulgated in the Great King's name, may have had a very special meaning, something analogous to the Roman emperor's *sacrae litterae* or ἱερὰ γράμματα, perhaps something on an even higher level of sacredness. This would explain the decision to produce three documents corresponding in content and structure as closely as possible, even when considerations of linguistic facility and efficacy of propaganda counselled otherwise.³⁸ This hypothesis would have a corollary. All three versions must have been produced under as strict a supervision as possible in a monarchy whose bureaucratic apparatus must still have been in a transitional stage in a state of almost incessant war fought by a new dynasty to consolidate its position. Minor lapses and errors might creep in, but for major modification of the main outline laid out by the king, in one version or another, royal sanction of some kind would have been indispensable.

4. The *raison d'être* of the Greek Version

Yet, as already pointed out, the final result of this policy, the inscription as we possess it, proves how difficult it was to abide by it, especially in the Greek version. This brings us back to the question, why Greek at all? Who were the prospective readers of the Greek version of the inscription? Narseh's claim, on the Paikuli inscription, that his assumption of power was hailed by the Roman emperor indicates that Roman delegates were present at his coronation.³⁹ This possibility may, in turn, indicate one answer to our question. Roman diplomats might be expected to be impressed by the monument and carry its message back home. It may be pointed out that the presence of Roman delegates at King Shāpūr's court is explicitly mentioned by Lactantius (*De mort. Pers.* 5. 6), who states that these delegates (*legati nostri*) were subjected to a macabre kind of psychological pressure. The flayed skin of Emperor Valerian, **(p.290)** who had died in captivity, was displayed to them, dyed red, so that it might serve as a constant reminder of the limitations of Roman might. Even if the gruesome details of this tendentious story are rejected, it would still be entirely pointless unless the regular exchange of diplomatic delegations between the two empires was a well-known fact. The analogy of the *Monumentum Adulitanum*, set up in the harbour city of the Axumite kingdom, celebrating, in Greek, the exploits of an Ethiopian king, may suggest another possible answer. It was read and copied by a Greek Christian merchant, Cosmas Indicopleustes.⁴⁰ Hence another possible answer to our question. The presence of Greek-reading merchants from the Roman Empire at the site of the inscription cannot be ruled out. If both these possibilities are accepted as two parts of an answer to our question, a pattern of incipient diplomatic intercourse and commercial exchange between the two rival powers, between the Iranian monarchy and the Mediterranean Roman Empire, may be divined, even in the heat of Shāpūr's great campaigns against Rome.⁴¹

In the framework of these relations, Rome's special position among the nations of the world, all of which were natural subjects of the Sasanian king, was indeed recognized. On the Paikuli inscription the Roman emperor is the only ruler whose supplication (*lābakkarīh*) is rewarded by peace and friendship (*aštīhī ud ērmānīh*) on the part of the Great King.⁴² The Paikuli inscription had therefore a message to spread abroad across the frontier, and yet no Greek translation is available. This is another problem which was raised at the beginning of the present paper.

(p.291) Unfortunately no satisfactory solution appears to be forthcoming, except, perhaps, that people of the brand of Hormizd, son of Šilak, the scribe whose autograph appears at the bottom of the Persian version of the *RGDS*, who had acquired their professional training under Arsacid kings, in a royal court which appears to have been less averse to Greek culture than that of the Sasanians, were finally dying out.

Appendix

The Problem of the Genesis of the Greek Text

When this paper was already written and ready for submission, Professor Nicholas Sims-Williams brought to my attention the appearance of the long-awaited complete edition of the *RGDS* in the *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum*. This monumental new edition (Huyse 1999) is in two volumes: the first contains the complete texts of all three versions of the inscription in parallel columns, a separate transliteration as well as a phonetic transcription of both Iranian versions, and a separate translation of each of the three versions; the second contains a detailed commentary and an appendix dealing with a number of special problems (including a sketch of the grammar of the two Iranian dialects used on the monument, on which see n. 5). The whole work constitutes a tremendous scholarly achievement, and it undoubtedly greatly advances our knowledge in a number of areas, such as the development of the Western Middle Iranian dialects and early Sasanian history.

Differences of opinion are, however, bound to arise in the wake of the publication of a work of such proportions. It is particularly Huyse's treatment of the genesis of the Greek version, its relation to the other two, and the ethnic origin of its author which has made a reconsideration of my own views on this matter (as expressed on pp. 274–7, 287–8 above) necessary. This reconsideration has only fortified me in the position that I previously held. It is, however, clear that after Huyse's detailed argumentation the issue can no longer be dismissed in a few fleeting remarks, accompanied by a series of footnotes, and my own point of view has to be argued out in more detail.

At the conclusion of his linguistic analysis of the C5reek version, Huyse adopts Henning's view concerning the ethnic origin of its author. This is, however, only one part of Henning's reconstruction of the genesis of all three versions, which Huyse does not accept as a whole, but which appears **(p.292)** to have greatly influenced many other scholars. So that we can appreciate the problems involved, Henning (1952: 513–14) deserves to be quoted in full:

The original version of the inscription is that written in the official language of the Sassanid state, in Pahlavī (Middle Persian). A written copy of the Pahlavī text was translated, by Ōhrmīzd the son of Šīlk, into Parthian, the *lingua franca* of Northern Persia. The Greek version, too, was made from the Pahlavī, from the same written copy, by a Greek who was reasonably well acquainted with Northern Syria but deficient in his knowledge of Asia minor and more distant provinces of the Roman empire; he may have been a native of Seleucia on the Tigris.

This is so forcefully stated, with all of Henning's authority behind it, that it is perhaps too easy to ignore the fact that he himself put it forward as no more than 'a working hypothesis' (ibid, 513).

Two major issues are at stake here; (A) the identity of the translator of the Greek version and the source (or sources) followed by its author; (B) in much more general terms, the genesis and the manner of production of all three versions.

(A) It is a curious fact that most of the few arguments adduced by Henning in support of his hypothesis concerning the ethnic origin of the author of the Greek version either prove to be faulty upon careful scrutiny of what he himself says, or are invalidated by Huyse's reconstruction of the three versions and by his own commentary on them, in spite of his avowed acceptance of Henning's view.

1 In Henning (1952: 513 n. 2, 514 n. 1, 515) the reasoning is based on a hypothetical reconstruction of the manner in which errors in place names and in the names of provinces in both the Parthian and the Greek versions may have arisen from misreadings of a Middle Persian original. Yet (1952: 513 n. 2), he makes a very strong case for the distortion of Anazarbos, meant by the Iranian original, into 'Αγρίννα in Greek, as a result of an error which has crept into the Parthian version, i.e. the erroneous substitution of a *g* for a *z*, which has produced the 'nglpws in that version, whereas the original Middle Persian read 'nzlbwsy (only "n. 1.. sy' is preserved on the stone). Already Henning himself sensed that this may be a good point in the case for the derivation of the Greek version from the *Parthian* rather than the Middle Persian one, and he therefore had to postulate the independent derivation of both these versions from a written copy of the Middle Persian, where the *z* was quite indistinguishable from the *g*. Since such a confusion is unthinkable in the monumental script of Middle Persian, Huyse (1999: ii, 200) supplements Henning's hypothesis with an assumption about an intermediary version, written in some form of a cursive, third-century Book Pahlavī script. In such a version the similarity between these two letters would lead to the confusion. This, however, **(p.293)** cannot be substantiated, since no such striking similarity exists in either the traditional Zoroastrian Book Pahlavī or the Pahlavī Psalter script, and about the form of third-century cursive Middle Persian script we have no clear idea (see the admission of Huyse himself, 1999; ii. 197). At any rate, the assumption that the scribe of the Greek version misread an original Pahlavī text is quite gratuitous for the case of I Huyse, who, unlike Henning, postulates the derivation of the Greek version from the Parthian one.

2. Huyse, who asserts that the Greek version was made on the basis of the Parthian text, still rejects, together with Henning, the possibility that it was made by a Parthian. His rejection of this possibility is based on the few places where, in his view, a wrong understanding of the Parthian version led to its mistranslation into Greek (Huyse 1999: ii. 200). Two of these places (see Huyse 1999: ii. 200, cf. 195, items 5 and 6 on his list *b*) are discussed in detail in the present paper, where I believe I have made a sufficiently strong case, not for an erroneous translation, but for a conscious and considered deviation from the original (see §§ 3.4–5 above, and also especially n. 30 to § 3.4).

3. More can be said for another instance adduced by Huyse (1999: ii. 200) in support of his argument. He traces the term τὴν Ἀριαν in l. 42 of the Greek text (cf. Huyse 1999: i. 47 [§ 34]) = Back 1978: 334) back to a misunderstanding of the Iranian original, where the epithet *ēr* (Arian) is part of the titulature of Narseh, Shāpūr's son, the future Šāhān Šāh. According to Huyse, the use of Ἀριαν with the definite article τήν, as an abstract noun, in apposition to εἰς τὴν μνείαν καὶ νόματος συντήρησιν (the literal translation of the whole construction should therefore be 'to the Arianship of the Mazda-worshipping Narseh ...to the memory and the preservation of <his> name'), is the result of an 'Unsicherheit des griechischen Übersetzers', and in support of this contention he points out the superfluous repetition of εἰς τὴν μνείαν καὶ νόματος συντήρησιν in l. 43, after it has already been used in l. 42. This supporting argument can be disposed of without much ado: the occurrence of the phrase in l. 43 is not a needless repetition, but rather the termination of the dedication to Narseh, balanced against the termination of the dedication to Shāpūr, king of Mēshān, in l. 42 (l. 23 in the Persian, and l. 18 in the Parthian text), and likewise against the terminations of previous dedications—i.e. the one to Hurmizd-Ardashīr, the heir apparent, the one to Ādūr-Anāhīd, the Great King's daughter-spouse, and the one to the Great King himself (thus also Huyse 1999: i. 45-7).

What remains is the substitution of an abstract noun of uncertain meaning for an epithet whose meaning ought to have been clear enough to anyone who could translate such a title as *Šāhān Šāh Ērān ud Anērān* without mistakes. Once again a conscious deviation from the original rather than an error of miscomprehension is the preferable explanation. There must have been a very good reason to stress the fact that Narseh was a Mazda-worshipping **(p.294)** Iranian. After all, of the three royal princes mentioned in the sequence where his name appears, he is the one whose royal appanage comprised the newest acquisitions of the Sasanian monarchy, and was the least influenced by Western Iranian culture. This, however, ought to have been clear in the context of a propaganda message directed at the nobility of Shapur's monarchy. As for potential Greek readers, there may have been fear of misunderstanding or of wilful misinterpretation on their part, the nature of which is indicated by queries raised by modern readers of the inscription: were not the other senior members of the family, mentioned in the same context, including the Great King himself, equally good members of the great Iranian nation? The use of an abstract noun whose overt meaning would allude to the fact that it is as a ruler representing Iranian values that Narseh had been sent to rule these provinces, and that it is to this quality of Iranian kingship that tribute is being paid, may well have been the translator's attempted solution to the problem that he had to face. It is not hard to see why no such term in Greek will have been known to him. Hence an admittedly clumsy attempt to coin a concept that would suit his purposes.

4. Yet another ostensible misunderstanding of the Parthian text, leading to the conclusion that its author and that of the Greek text could not have been identical, is pointed out by Huyse (1999: ii. 200, cf. 114) (commentary on § 36. 1). A passage in 11. 45–6 of the Greek text is read by Huyse (1999: i. 49) as follows: *ἔδωκαμεν ... εἰς τὴν μνείαν ἡμῶν πρόβατον ἡμερίσιον [] ἕν καὶ ἄρτων μόδιος εἰς ἡμισυς, οἴνου πασάτας τέσσερας κτλ.* ('we have given ... to our remembrance a sheep every day [] one, and a *modius* and a half of bread, and four *pās* of wine, etc.'). In this passage, 1 Huyse argues, the adjective *ἡμερίσιον* qualifies the noun *πρόβατον* alone, and not the others in the close context, denoting the other offerings which are meant to be daily according to the Iranian texts. Hence, according to Huyse, a mistranslation, arising from a misunderstanding of the Parthian by the Greek translator. The argument is not convincing. The Greek text is clearly elliptical, and the omitted forms of *ἡμερίσιον*, corresponding to the other nouns, are quite naturally understood from the context. True, there is something definitely wrong with the Greek here, much worse than the failure to use an appropriate adverbial phrase to translate the Iranian *rōz Ō rōz*, such as *κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν*, which would qualify the verb *ἔδωκαμεν* in 1. 45, and would thus avoid the ambiguity of the translation as we possess it: *μόδιος εἰς ἡμισυς* in the nominative, instead of the accusative, as the object of the same verb, is a gross error (see e.g. Pugliese Carratelli 1947: 239). But this error is just one of the other phenomena corroborating the impression that the author's main problem is not lack of understanding of his Parthian *Vorlage*, but rather lack of facility in the use of Greek grammar and Greek idiom.

(p.295) B. Huyse gives very strong reasons for believing that the Greek version is translated from the Parthian. On the other hand, he does accept the assumption, shared by almost all the scholars who have dealt with the problem of the genesis of the *RGDS* in the wake of Henning's statement quoted above (§ A. 1), that the original document from which all the extant versions derive was written in Middle Persian.

1. The main difficulty that has to be faced by all those who support this view is, as has been pointed out already by Sprengling (1940b: 331, and cf. also p. 287 above), the curtailment of the Persian text at the end of the document. The notion of the king being the *dastgird* of the gods could hardly be introduced in this context on the initiative of a Parthian scribe. Could it then be omitted on the initiative of a Persian scribe? The assumption that such an omission occurred presupposes the existence of a Middle Persian version, different from the one on the monument, which was followed in the Parthian version. The alternative hypothesis, outlined by Maricq (1958: 296–9), is that two different scribes took notes in two different languages, while the king was dictating his guidelines, to produce, each one, his separate version. This leaves us still with the difficulty of an unsupervised deviation from what appears to have been the king's original notion either in the Parthian or in the Middle Persian version, and that at a very prominent place in the text. A much more reasonable hypothesis would be the one suggested above (p. 277), that one and the same scribe received the general instruction to convey the idea of the king's divine protection in as clear and idiomatic a manner as possible in each one of the three languages used on the monument. His knowledge of Middle Persian and of Parthian was equal to the task of producing two formulations of the idea, independent of each other in each of these two languages. On the other hand, his imperfect command of Greek is apparent in his indecision between a Greek historicizing transliteration of *dastgird* and its literal translation as κτίσμα.

2. The fact that the Greek text resembles more closely the Parthian one on the whole, but betrays in places (especially in the transliteration of names) a closer affinity to the Middle Persian text, is quite easily explicable on the basis of the assumption that an author who had produced the initial version in Parthian went on to produce the two other versions, with occasional reference to lists of place names etc. which he had at his disposal from the archives of the king's military staff, in Middle Persian.

3. The scribe's autograph at the conclusion of the Parthian version intensifies the impression that he was the one responsible for all three versions.

Mancini (1988: 92 n. 56) has an elaborate explanation for this phenomenon. The Middle Persian text bears no subscription, he argues, because it contains the king's own words, speaking in person. The fact that the Parthian version does bear a signature is a token of the importance of **(p.296)** the Parthian chancellery tradition. As for the absence of a scribal autograph from the Greek text, two explanations avail; the non-existence of any scribal Greek tradition in the Sasanian court, and the poor quality of the Greek version, which its author, aware of its weakness, felt no need to claim to his credit. Huyse (1999: ii. 197–8) amplifies the reason given by Mancini for the fact that only the Parthian scribe appended his autograph to the document, by turning round the basic argument against the primacy of the Middle Persian text as we possess it. The Parthian scribe's signature underscores the fact that his licence in making occasional departures from the Middle Persian text was taken in full self-consciousness.

These arguments may be answered one by one.

(i) Even if the contention that the Middle Persian text supposedly represents the king's *ipsissima verba* is accepted at face value, this should not have hindered the scribe from adding his signature to the document he had composed on the king's order. After all, Kirdēr's inscription at Nakshi Rājāh represents Kirdēr's *ipsissima verba* to a no lesser extent, and yet the autograph of Bokhtag the scribe is appended to it without diminishing the impression that it is the Zoroastrian high priest speaking *in propria persona*, and singing his own praises.

(ii) We know next to nothing about the so called 'tradizione cancellaresca' in the court of the early Sasanian kings. It does stand to reason that whatever tradition of this sort did exist was indeed basically Parthian. But in this case would not a Persian scribe who had just performed a difficult task have felt justified in following the example of his Parthian colleague? Would not the scribe considered to be the repository of time-hallowed traditions become an object of imitation?

(iii) It is more than doubtful that the author of the Greek text was really aware of the poor quality of his work. His errors in grammar and idiom (see pp. 274–5 above) were in all likelihood committed without his being aware of them. On the other hand, I believe that enough has been said above to make a strong case that he did pay much attention to his choice of words, and in those places where he failed to find appropriate Greek equivalents there is on the whole a good explanation for the procedure he decided to adopt.

(iv) The assumption concerning the absence of a Greek scribal tradition in the Sasanian court does not tally well with Mancini's own description of the Greek version as a 'metatesto', whose main purpose is to provide the document with a universal character. Such a purpose could have been served only if people had become habituated to the idea that royal documents had to be promulgated in Greek (cf. also n. 8 above).

(v) The assumption that the Parthian and the Greek texts could be treated more lightly than the Middle Persian one runs counter to the spirit in which the whole monument was set up. The king's words are the king's **(p.297)** words in each of the three versions, and the basic feeling of anyone who reads the document is that no departure from the king's guidelines in any one of the three could have occurred entirely on its author's own initiative.

The best and most economic hypothesis to account for all the peculiarities of the three versions appears also to be the one which is best in keeping with what may be reasonably surmised about the state of development of the Sasanian monarchy towards the end of Shāpūr I's reign. The existence of a well-established royal bureau with a permanent staff of scribes, regularly issuing documents in what is habitually regarded as the official language of the realm, i.e. Middle Persian, can hardly be assumed. The very notion of an official language may be misleading for a period in which the prominence of so many remnants of the old Arsacid nobility is so clearly attested by Shāpūr's own monument at the Ka'ba-ye Zardošt. A distinction ought to be made between the king's own language and the language in which he might have expected his propaganda to have the widest appeal. It is not unreasonable to assume that when the monument was set up Parthian was still important as the language of the defunct Arsacid court. The very assumption that the Parthian version of the document required less attention than the Persian, or that its author could afford to be consciously negligent while preparing it, is therefore misleading. Enough has been said above to support the view that almost as much may be true about the Greek version.

From all that has been said so far it clearly follows that no reasonable person commissioned to produce such a document could start on the assumption that it could be treated lightly. The composition of its Greek version would therefore hardly have been wilfully entrusted to a 'Gele-genheitsübersetzer' (thus Huyse 1999: ii. 201). If this is the impression it produces, it may be due to the fact that people considered to be qualified to produce a satisfactory translation from either Middle Persian or Parthian into Greek were not easy to find at the time when Shāpūr I commissioned his great inscription.

In fine, I still believe that the best reconstruction of the manner in which the three versions of this document came into being is the one given above (pp. 276-7).

Notes:

- (1) All the dates in this paper are CE, unless otherwise indicated.
- (2) Rostovtzeff (1943) 17–60. The inadequacy of this title is criticized by Sprengling (1953) 3.
- (3) For a short account of the discovery of the inscription and of its early editions, see Honigsmann and Maricq] (1952) 2–5.
- (4) Detailed bibliography on the Sasanian period may be found in Wieseböfer (1994) 365–92 (cf. 393–6 for a list of abbreviations).
- (6) On the importance of the Parthian language among the ruling élite of the Arsacid kingdom see Sundermann (1989 *b*) 1115. On its survival under Sasanian domination as a living and developing language during the 3rd and 4th cents. see *ibid.*, and cf. Sundermann (1989 *a*) 107 for the identification of both Middle Persian and Parthian as the languages of Iran in the stricter sense of this word, i.e. ‘that area which was newly joined together, after the downfall of the Achaemenian kingdom, under the Arsacids and the Sasanians, as a political unit named Iran’. In terms of Shāpūr’s own titulature, i.e. ‘the King of Ērān and Anērān’, the difference between those regions under his dominion meant by Ērān and those meant by Anērān would be congruous with the difference between the regions where these two languages were spoken and those where they were not. Parthian, no less than Middle Persian, will have been the appropriate medium to spread the king’s propaganda in Ērān through the intermediation of aristocratic visitors of his court, wherever he happened to be in residence. Notions about a deliberate policy of ousting this language in favour of Middle Persian ought to be discarded; cf. Sundermann (1989*b*) 114. The ethnic name ‘Parthians’ appears beside that of ‘Persians’ in a number of lists of dignitaries and official ranks of honour on the Paikuli inscription (on which see p. 271 below; cf. n. 32 below for the references).
- (7) For an English translation based mainly on the Parthian version see Frye (1984) 371–3 (app. 4).

(8) I find it hard to accept the rather vague generalizations made by Mancini (1988: 92–3) about the nature and the purpose of the Greek version. I do not Quite understand what he means by ‘metatesto’, and the fact that he puts this term in inverted commas indicates that he himself may be vague about the intended meaning of the concept. If it is to be explained by his assertion that the purpose of the Greek text is to grant the Sasanian king’s pretensions universal appeal, and turn them into themes of history (‘il testo greco assolve il compito di *universalizzare* e di far entrare nella storia le imprese del re dei re sassanide’), we are again concerned with an aim which was bound to be missed without a prospective audience. The implication that this purpose could be served by the mere presence of the Greek, investing the king’s words with a symbolic character thanks to the prestige of the Greek language, is ingenious but not convincing. It makes sense only if it is proved that Greek was universally recognized in Iran as the language in which all monuments meant for future generations had to be inscribed. This is far from being the case.

(9) For its original monumental publication see Herzfeld (1924). Its renewed publication, by Humbach and Skjaervø (1983), is based on a revision and rearrangement of the blocks that make up the inscription, especially in its lower part.

(10) It may be pointed out that if such an explanation is accepted, it would counter Mancini’s suggestions (see n. 8 above), since it would require the acceptance of the premiss that the king’s propaganda in Greek did have its immediate destinies. Even if such propaganda was disseminated in other ways, a monument such as the *RGDS* could still serve a practical purpose. On my own suggestions, made in Rubin (1998) 183, see further pp. 289–91 below.

(11) See also Rubin (1998) 181–2, on Rome in the Paikuli inscription.

(12) On Back (1978), see p. 270 above; on Huyse (1999) vol. i see p. 270 and n. 5 above, together with the appendix.

(13) Of such a procedure there is only one clear instance in the Greek version (see § 3.4 below), whereas on the whole the opposite procedure, that of strict adherence to the literal rendering of the Middle Iranian text, is preferred (see § 3.5 below).

(14) Easily accessible in Ehrenberg and Jones (1975) 83 (no. 98), for the surviving fragments of the original Latin version, and cf. *ibid.* So for the Greek version, where the long-winded Greek phrase quoted in the text is actually meant to be the equivalent of the one Latin word *fortuito*.

(15) Littmann (1913) 42-3; cf. Littmann (1950) 115-19 (=DAE 11) *baʔayla ʔgzi'a samay zaba samay wa mædr mawā'i laza kona*—according to Littmann's reading; in the revised publication of this inscription by Bernard, Drewes, and Schneider (1991) 263 no. 189, 1. 1, this is emended to *baʔayla ʔəgzi'a samay zaba samay wa maðr mawā'i lita*—i.e. 'in the power of the Lord of Heaven, who in heaven and on earth is victorious on my behalf'; cf. also the textual comment on this emendation, *ibid.* 265.

(16) Caqunt and Nautin (1970) =*SEG* xxvi (1976/7) 410 (no. 1813) =Bernard, Drewes, and Schneider (1991) 370 (no. 271); see also Altheim and Stiehl (1976). On the other side of the stele which carries this inscription there is another Ge'ez inscription, engraved in Southern Arabian characters. Its poor state of preservation prevents its decipherment, and no safe conclusions about its content can be drawn, apart from the fact that there is no congruence whatsoever between this text and the Greek one. It has, indeed, been suggested that the Greek text had a close Ethiopic correspondent: see Bernard, Drewes, and Schneider (1991) 268-9. I have dealt with this possibility and with the suggestion that might follow—that such a text was closer in wording to this Greek text than the vocalized Ge'ez text, and hence more outspokenly Christian—in Rubin (2001*b*). Since such a suggestion cannot be substantiated, it can be said with a fair amount of confidence that this Greek text has only one certain counterpart—the Ge'ez text referred to in the previous note—and that the different openings of these two texts are suggestive.

(17) Yarshater (1971); Rubin (1998) 179-80. A further discussion of this problem will likewise be found in Rubin (2001*a*) 644-7.

(18) See appendix, § B. 3, for a discussion of various preconceived ideas on this subject.

(19) For a comprehensive list of errors in the Greek text see e.g. Pugliese Carratelli (1947) 233-90; some of them may indeed be magnanimously admitted as oddities on the borderline of what may be described as acceptable Greek (see e.g. Mancini 1998: 91, on such forms as *ἀνείλαμεν*, *ἡγάγαμεν*, and *κατέσχαμεν*). The overall impression which even Mancini finds it hard to escape is one of an author who is, to say the least, ill at ease in his use of the Greek language; see esp. *ibid.* 92: 'il redattore è incapace di comporre una versione che sia in qualche modo consona ai canoni linguistici ellenici.'

(20) See Sprengling (1953) 78, and cf. appendix, § A. 4, and now also Huyse (1999) ii. 187–8, Two examples will suffice for the purpose of the present discussion: (1) εἰς τὴν βοήθειαν τῶν θεῶν (with the gods' aid) in 11. 37–8 of the Greek text, translating *pad yazdān pašt*, used both in the Middle Persian (1.22) and in the Parthian (1.7) texts, where something like τῇ τῶν θεῶν βοηθείᾳ might have been expected; (2) εἰ Παρικαν τραφένος (raised in the (house of the> Farragān) in 1. 61 of the Greek text, translating the Middle Persian *pad Farragān dašt* (1. 31) and the Parthian *pad Farragān derd* (1. 25), where something like ἐν τῇ τῶν Παρικαν οἰκίᾳ τραφένος might have been expected.

(21) I am grateful to Prof. J. N. Adams for having suggested to me this denomination of the phenomenon in question.

(22) The hypothesis of Back (1978: 146–65, esp. 149–51), that the author of the Greek version was of Syriac origin, has failed to gain scholarly approbation; see e.g. MacKenzie (1982) 293; Mancini (1988) 87–8; and now also Huyse (1999) ii. 189–91. Though this hypothesis cannot be sustained as it stands, it is not entirely fruitless, and some of the details on which it is based deserve further examination in order to assess linguistic cross-influences in an area whose population was of a mixed ethnic and linguistic background.

(23) Attempts to resolve the difficulties presented by this list (e.g. Back 1978: 502 n. 165) are not entirely convincing. It certainly deserves a revised analysis, which cannot be undertaken here. At any rate, the substitution of Campania for Pamphylia in the Greek text (see Henning 1952: 514–15) is exactly the kind of hypercorrection one would expect from an author who has read some accounts of Parthian diplomatic delegations to Italy, and whose knowledge of contemporary political geography was even more shaky than his knowledge of history.

(24) For the Book Pahlavī equivalents see MacKenzie (1971) s.v. *yazd*, and Nyberg (1964–74) ii, s.v. *bag* 2, where this word is given the meaning of 'lord', especially when applied to king (cf. *ibid.*, s.v. *yazēt*).

(25) See also Herzfeld (1924) 153, s.vv. בִּג and בִּגִּי 198–9, s.vv. יֵאֶזְדֵּן and יֵדֵאֵן, though it is not at all clear whether he is correct in casting Mithra in the role of a deity of an inferior order.

(26) See Gignoux (1972) s.vv., and cf. Herzfeld (1924) 215, s.vv. מֹזְדֵּיִן, מֹזְדֵּיִן, where the Armenian, Greek, and Book Pahlavī forms are discussed. For the Book Pahlavī forms see also MacKenzie (1971) s.v. *māzdēsn*, and Nyberg (1964–74) i, s.v. *mazde* (ē)sn.

(27) In both cases this epithet occurs in the genitive singular. See also LSJ s.v. μάσδασυος, where the nominative, included in the Lexicon on the basis of ANrm = OGL 432. 1, is mistakenly reconstructed on the basis of the genitive μασδάσσυου. The RGDS shows clearly that the nominative ought to be μασδάσσυης; cf also Maricq (1958) 304 n. 2.

(28) See Gignoux (1972) s.vv., both in the Middle Persian and in the Parthian sections. See also Nyberg (1964–74) ii, s.v. I *Varhrān*, and Christensen (1944) 162–3.

(29) See especially Christensen (1944) 157 (cf. 159). The rule formulated by de Menasce (1964: 44), that the correct term for Warhrān fires ought to be *ātaxš i Varhrān*, obviously applies in the Zoroastrian Pahlavī literature, but not in the early Sasanian inscriptions. Cf., however, Boyce (1968 a) 58–9, on the interchangeability of the terms *ādur* and *ātaxš* in the Zoroastrian texts themselves. On the close association between Varhrān fires and the idea of the tight against and victory over evil, see also Boyce (1968 a) 52–3.

(30) The assumption of Maricq (1958; 306 n. 13, now endorsed by Huyse 1999: ii. 39) that the Greek ἐκ παντὸς μέρου is to be explained as arising from the Middle Iranian term, preserved only in the extant Parthian, *ptykwspn*, which the translator misread as *pty [hrw] kwst* (lit. ‘in every direction’), is not convincing, especially in view of the fact that there appears to be no palaeographic reason why the last letters of the Parthian *ptykwspn*, still less those of the Middle Persian *p’tykwsp’n*, should have been misread as *kwst* (‘direction’), and why the word *hrw* (‘every’), which in the extant version clearly follows *ptykwspn*, should have been transposed by the Greek translator into a position between *pty* (‘in’) and *kwspn* (replaced by *kwst*). On the whole, Maricq’s hypothesis in this particular instance is much less in keeping with his own assumption that the original text followed by the translator was in Middle Persian, than with the possibility that it was in Parthian, for in a Middle Persian text the ideogram PWN would be required, rather than ‘pty’, for *pad* (‘in’), in a phrase like *pad harw kust*. But even the Parthian version, if it is the one followed (as I believe it is), does not seem to have caused the misunderstanding suggested by Maricq, since the adverbial phrase ἐκ παντὸς μέρου is immediately followed by πάντας, qualifying δεσπότης, and translating *harw* in the corresponding position of the original. The Greek phrase is therefore much more easily understandable as part of the licence taken in the translation of the entire phrase, in which, as the Parthian version shows, the concepts of *hštr* (‘land’), *hštrdry* (‘lord, ruler’), and *ptykwspn* (‘governor’) are grouped together to convey the idea of different lands, subject to the king, being entrusted to governors of different ranks in the hierarchy of the Sasanian court. The Greek text avoids the difficulty and merely attempts to imply the variety of types of provinces by referring to the fact that there are many people with governmental powers in many different places.

(31) See also Herzfeld (1924) 195, s.v. *חשודרין* etc. (cf. Wiesehöfer 1994: 228–43), and cf. Schippmann (1990) 82 (the disagreement between Wiesehöfer and Schippmann concerning the meaning of the term *wispuhrān* does not concern us here).

(32) On the *pāygosbān* see also Christensen (1944) index, s.v. *pādghōsbān*, and esp. 519. See also Herzfeld (1924) 231, s.vv. *פדכשפן, פאתכוסאן, פדכר*. When terms of this kind are looked up in dictionaries and hook indices, the difficulty of grappling with different phonetic transcriptions for each ought to be taken into account. The system adopted for the purposes of the present discussion is that used by MacKenzie and Huyse for the Middle Persian, and by Huyse (following Boyce) for the Parthian; see n. 5 above. Lists of official ranks, not unlike the list on the ?ajjiābād inscription (see Back 1978: 372–8), appear on the Pnikuli inscription as well, but in a less orderly manner; see Humbach and Skjærvø (1983) i. 21, 33–4, 42–3, 64. They deserve a separate detailed analysis, which will be undertaken elsewhere. Further on the ranks of honour of Sasanian dignitaries, see now also Rubin (2000) 651–4.

(33) See Sprengling (1953) 103. Hence also his translation of this term, when applied to the king, as ‘handiwork’.

(34) The procedure most recently adopted by Huyse (1999: i. 45) is to avoid a translation altogether, and to use the transcribed Iranian term ‘dastgerd’ (a transcription which differs from that of MacKenzie, thus departing from the guideline followed on the whole by Huyse) both in the translation of the Parthian column and in that of the Middle Persian, where both the term and its context are missing in the original and supplied by Huyse himself (see further appendix § B. 1). Furthermore, see Huyse (1999) i. 63–4, where ‘dastgerd’ is used in his own translation of the Greek version into German, not only where the (Greek) version uses the transliterated form (e.g. when it expresses the wish that the gods will make whoever succeeds Shāpūr their *δαστικιρτην*), but also where it does translate the Iranian term into Greek (‘... wir ... der Götter “dastgerd” sind’, ‘dastgerd’ representing *κτισμα*).

(35) *δαστικερτας ἔκτισαν* (Huyes 1999: i. 45) is the equivalent of the Parthian *dastgerd karend*, i.e. ‘made me <their>dastgird’. Cf. Huyse (1999) ii. 98–100, where all the meanings of *dastgird* (*dastgerd*) in the present document are discussed, and the suggestion of N. Sims-Williams (made in a letter to the author) that the meaning of the term that would fit all the contexts where it occurs ought to be ‘was in jemandes Hand gelegt wurde’. Unfortunately even this suggestion, whatever the linguistic consideration supporting it, does not seem to do justice to the context in which the special patronage granted by the gods to the king is clearly intended.

(36) The Middle Persian version of this passage may be translated as follows: ‘that he who becomes lord after us should be a good worshipper of the gods who pleases them well, even so that the gods may be his friends as they have been ours’. The translation of the Parthian version is as follows: ‘Now, just as we have striven in the matters and in the rites of the gods, and as we are the *dastgird* of the gods, so that with the gods’ aid we have sought and occupied so many lands, and we have made our name and our courage <known>, even so, he who comes after us, and will be fortunate, may he thus strive in the matters and in the rites of the gods. that the gods may be his helpers, and that they may make him their *dastgird*’. The Greek version follows the Parthian with only minor differences. The translation of *dastgird* by κτίσμα in the first instance and its mere transcription in the other has already been mentioned above. Apart from this, such differences as the rendering of *āwand šahr* (‘so many lands’) by πάντα τὰ ἔθνη are truly insignificant.

(37) Huyse (1999: i. 45), restores the lost Middle Persian text as an exact word-for-word equivalent of the Parthian. All that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that one guess is as good as another. It ought to be stressed that the description of Dēnak, queen of Mēshān, as the *daslgird* of Shāpūr—probably her husband the Great King’s son, king of Mēshān (Back 1978: 355; Huyse 1999: i. 56–7)—in Middle Persian as well as Parthian cannot be adduced as an exact parallel to the description of the Shāhān Shāh as the *daslgird* of anybody, even of the gods themselves. The latter may have struck a dissonant note in Middle Persian.

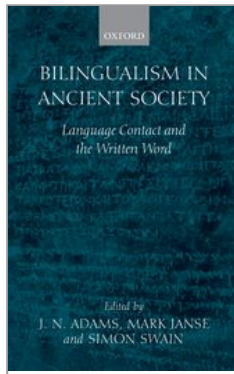
(38) This interpretation appears to gain in likelihood by the use of the Middle Persian form of this term, ‘npšty’ (nibišt), in Kirder’s inscription on the Ka’ba-ye Zardošt, in what appears to be a reference to King Shāpūr’s texts, engraved on the same monument; see Back (1978) 390. and cf. 508 n. 257 ad loc. See also MacKenzie (1989) 39. (text in transliteration); 54 (text in phoneticized transcription); 57 (English translation); 62–3 (commentary).

(39) See Skjærvø, in Humbach and Skjærvø (1983) i. 70.

(40) Cosmas Indicopleustes, *Topographia Christiana*, 2. 60-2 (PG 88. 103-5, cf. Wolska-Conus 1968: 373-8), incorporated in *OGI* 1, no. 199 (285-6) = Bernard, Drewes, and Schneider (1991) no. 277. Since the inscription of this anonymous king has been conflated with another, of Ptolemy Euergetes III of Egypt (Bernard, Drewes, and Schneider 1991: no. 276 Cosmas Ind. 2. 58-9, Wolska-Conus 1968: 370-3), it would be advisable to consult the introductions, including references to additional literature, and the textual annotations to both these inscriptions in Bernard, Drewes and Schneider (1991) 375-82. That Cosmas Indicopleustes was a travelling merchant at the time when he copied the inscription is made clear by him, 2. 54 (Wolska-Conus 1968: 365), cf. 56 (Wolska-Conus 1968: 369). See also further Wolska-Conus (1968) 16-17. On the significance of other Axumite inscriptions see also p. 273 above, on the use of Greek on the public monuments of another Axumite king, and cf. Rubin (1998) 182.

(41) Huyse (1999) ii. 201 n. 302 dismisses one of them without giving his reasons, and ignores the other.

(42) The interpretation of this passage by Skjærvø, in Humbach and Skjærvø (1983) ii. 119-20, is not entirely satisfactory. See Rubin (1998) 181-2 for a fuller discussion of its meaning.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Bilingualism and Diglossia in Late Antique Syria and Mesopotamia

DAVID G. K. TAYLOR

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter investigates the nature and consequences of language contact, bilingualism, and diglossia in Syria and Mesopotamia during the late antique period, focusing particularly on evidence for Greek-Aramaic interaction. Evidence for this contact is drawn primarily from the Greek and Syriac inscriptions of north Syria, bilingual Palmyrene inscriptions, and early Syriac literature, because each of these raises a number of distinct questions and theoretical issues. In late antique Syria and Mesopotamia, the experience of Aramaic-Greek linguistic contact was almost universal, although there was considerable variation in the local circumstances. In north Syria, the local Aramaic dialects were widely spoken but rarely written down, whereas to the north (Edessa), to the east (Ilatra, Palmyra, and Babylon), and to the south (Nabataea, as well as the Palestinian Jewish and Christian communities) there were well-established literary dialects of Aramaic.

Keywords: bilingualism, diglossia, Syria, Mesopotamia, language contact, Greek, Aramaic, late antique period, dialects

1. Introduction

RECENT decades have witnessed an exponential growth in the study of bilingualism, diglossia, and other phenomena related to language contact, and yet far too often academic discussion of language use in the ancient world fails to take account of the insights produced by such research. This paper is a preliminary attempt to investigate the nature and consequences of language contact in Syria and Mesopotamia during the late antique period, focusing particularly on evidence for Greek—Aramaic interaction. Evidence for this contact will be drawn primarily from the Greek and Syriac inscriptions of north Syria, bilingual Palmyrene inscriptions, and early Syriac literature, because each of these raises a number of distinct questions and theoretical issues.

1.1. Some initial caveats

Most studies of bilingualism¹ draw upon fieldwork conducted in regions of contemporary language contact, where the productive ability and communicative competence of speakers, the degree and nature of interference, the conscious or subconscious attitudes to the used languages, and the resulting diglossia,² as well as the **(p.299)** researcher's own theories, can all be examined and tested by repeated observation and the use of interviews and questionnaires. These are not options available to the student of ancient societies and individuals, for such research is entirely reliant upon written texts and, to a lesser extent, reported speech habits. Both of these are problematic witnesses, however, that strictly limit the range of conclusions that can legitimately be drawn about ancient language use. Written texts inevitably raise questions associated not only with diglossia, such as the reasons for the choice of language and of register within the chosen language, but also with literacy,³ such as the motivation for writing or inscribing a text; the identity and status of the writers or engravers; the degree to which their language skills are typical of the surrounding population; the extent to which literacy reflects fluency within a language.⁴ Written texts have only a limited ability to indicate phonic interference, and—given that inscriptions are often short and follow conventional models, whereas longer literary texts are usually subject to a range of canons prescribing acceptable orthography, morphology, and syntax—they need not reflect actual speech habits or usage and they only rarely impart significant information about grammatical interference. On the other hand, literary references to the reported language skills or preferences of the author, or of other persons, are often imprecise, reflect the culturally conditioned judgement of the author, and may be determined by the responses that they are intended to generate in the reader ('at that time I was a mere barbarian', 'the holy man spoke only Aramaic'). Furthermore, such individuals are clearly remarked upon because they are thought to be noteworthy in some way, and so are not necessarily typical. In examining and assessing such written texts it is clear, therefore, that great caution must be exercised, and that non-linguistic issues, **(p.300)** such as political, social, cultural, and religious factors, must not be forgotten.

Above all, one should note the important observation made by Suzanne Romaine (1995: 8), that ‘bilingualism exists within [the] cognitive systems of individuals, as well as in families and communities’, a point which should also be made in relation to sociocultural language preferences, i.e. alternation in the individual and diglossia in the community. This psychological modification of the Saussurean distinction between *parole* (speech), the utterances of individuals, and *langue* (language), the underlying linguistic system of the community, is a distinction that must be maintained if the written texts available to us are to be meaningfully analysed.⁵ Great care must be taken when extrapolating from the speech habits, skills, and preferences of an individual to those of the larger community.

1.2. The languages of late antique Syria and Mesopotamia

The linguistic diversity to be found in Syria and Mesopotamia during the late antique period can be illustrated by the texts discovered in Dura Europos (all of which predate its destruction in AD 256). Unusually for this region, numerous parchment and papyrus documents were preserved at the site, containing texts written in Greek, Latin, Hebrew, Jewish Aramaic, Syriac, Parthian, and Middle Persian, as well as graffiti written in Palmyrene Aramaic and Safaitic (Welles, Fink, and Gilliam 1959; Kilpatrick 1964: 215). Dura Europos was, of course, a frontier town, but its evident multilingualism may not have been atypical of the region as a whole. In addition to contact with various Iranian languages in the east,⁶ it is possible that there was some interaction with speakers of the numerous languages and dialects of Asia Minor to the north.⁷ Throughout the Empire there is, of course, evidence of Latin usage, but it is essentially the **(p. 301)** language of the army and of legal studies (MacMullen 1966; Dagron 1969). Thus Libanius, the great fourth-century rhetorician of Antioch, would make it very clear that the fact that his grandfather had once made a speech in Latin did not imply that he was a non-Greek immigrant (Millar 1993: 258). As for contact with Semitic languages, in the south of Syria, from the Hawran down, great numbers of Arabic inscriptions in the Safaitic script have been found (Contini 1987; Macdonald 1993), and Arab names occur in Greek inscriptions both here and further north.⁸ Even such ancient Semitic languages as Babylonian and Phoenician appear to have survived in the region, in very limited circles, into the first few centuries of the Common Era (Geller 1997; Briquel-Chatonnet 1991). Although it is probably beyond any one scholar (it is certainly beyond me) to control all of these languages, one should be alert to the possibility that they may also have had a significant impact on the other languages spoken in the region.

For most of the region, however, as at Dura, it would seem that the two dominant languages were Greek and Aramaic, but before examining their relationship it is necessary to say a little more about Aramaic, since so many discussions of linguistic usage in the region fail to distinguish between the various stages and dialects of Aramaic, and this has led to considerable confusion.

Inscriptions and other texts demonstrate that Aramaic dialects were spoken in Syria from the beginning of the first millennium BC, and its adoption by the scribes of the successive Assyrian, Babylonian, and Persian empires led, by 700 BC, to the appearance of a standardized literary form of Aramaic known as Official or Imperial Aramaic. This was employed for diplomatic and administrative purposes as well as for literary texts such as the story of Aʿiqar and, from its final phase, the Aramaic portions of the biblical books of Daniel and Ezra. Thus Official Aramaic was a High variety which completely replaced other Aramaic dialects (the L varieties) as a written form—although they continued to be spoken and occasionally exercised some influence on Official Aramaic—until it was itself steadily replaced by Greek, following the conquests of Alexander and the subsequent establishment of Greek cities. From this point on Greek became the regional language of administration and literature, and thus the language of choice for the social and **(p.302)** political elites. Only in AD 706 was Greek finally replaced by Arabic as the language of the civil service.

The loss of a standard literary form of Aramaic did not, of course, prevent the great bulk of the Syro-Mesopotamian population from continuing to speak their local dialects of Aramaic. Some of these dialects resurfaced in literary form in autonomous or semi-autonomous cities and regions beyond the immediate control of the imperial authorities, or in certain religious communities. These include the Middle Aramaic dialects of the Nabataeans, whose kingdom was centred on Petra and Bostra until its absorption by Trajan in AD 106,⁹ and of the city of Hatra, south-east of the Jebel Sinjar in northern Mesopotamia, which in the second century appears to have produced more than 340 Aramaic inscriptions (Vattioni 1981; Aggoula 1991; Beyer 1998), and of Palmyra, of which more will be said below. To these can be added the Late Aramaic dialects which divide into Eastern and Western groups. Among the Eastern dialects are that of Edessa, which achieved literary status as Syriac; Mandaic; and the Aramaic of the Babylonian Talmud. Among the Western dialects are those spoken in the south of the region and in Palestine, namely Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, Christian Palestinian Aramaic, and Samaritan Aramaic. All of these literary forms of Aramaic produced their own distinctive scripts. It is quite likely that north Syria also had its own distinct dialects—though little has been preserved owing to the lack of a local script—for in the fifth century the knowledgeable Theodoret bishop of Cyrrhus (b. 393) distinguished the dialects of the Osrhoenoi, Syroi, Euphratesioi, Palestinoi, and Phoinikes, adding that there was considerable difference between them.¹⁰ Some sense of the range of possible differences may be gained from Table 12.1. As can be seen, differences include morphology, phonology, and vocabulary, as well as syntax, which is less easily tabulated, and so it is hard for us to assess how mutually intelligible these regional dialects of Aramaic were. Josephus implies (*BJ* § 6) that his first, Jewish Palestinian Aramaic, draft of the *Jeivish War* circulated among ‘the Parthians, the Babylonians, the remotest Arabians, and those of our nation beyond **(p.303)** the Euphrates, with the Adiabeni’. On the other hand, again in the Palestinian context, a well-known passage in the Talmud,¹¹ mocking the Galilean pronunciation of guttural and vowel sounds, shows the potential for confusion between dialects (not to mention the rivalry that existed between them):¹² ‘Now, as for that Galilean who said: “Who has [’]*a mar*? Who has [’]*a mar*?” They said to him: “Galilean fool! (Do you mean) an ass [*h^a mār*] to ride on? Or wine [*h^a mar*] to drink? Wool [[’]*a mar*] for clothing? Or a sheepskin [*’îmar*] for a covering?”

Table 12.1. Morphological and Lexical Variation in Aramaic Dialects

Aramaic dia	S3M imperfect:	P1 pronoun:	SM demonstr.	(Vocabulary):
Lects	'he will write'	'we'	pronoun: 'this'	'he saw'
Palmvrene	<i>yktb</i> (=yktōb?)	'nhnw	<i>dnh</i>	<i>hz'</i>
Hatran	<i>lktb</i> (=liktōb?)	—	<i>hdyn/'dyn</i>	<i>hz'</i>
Syriac	<i>Nktwb</i> (=mektoḥ) ^a	'nhnn/hnn	<i>hn'</i>	<i>hz'</i>
Christian Palestinian	<i>Yktwb</i> (=yiktoḥ)	'nh/nn	<i>hdn/hdyn</i>	<i>hm'</i>
Samaritan	<i>yktb</i> (=yiktab)	'nn	<i>hdn/'hn</i>	'hm', m', hz'

^a Early Syriac inscriptions have the form *yktb*.

From this brief overview of the Aramaic dialects several points should be retained: first, only in certain regions was there a script available for writing Aramaic, which was presumably accompanied by teachers or schools offering an Aramaic-based education. Second, studies of language contact suggest that at the boundaries between different dialects there will have been intermediate forms containing some features of both. Third, it is likely that there will be instances of interference in one Aramaic dialect by another; fourth, some care should be taken to distinguish between different Aramaic dialects and not to presume that they are identical, or to label them all as, for example, 'Syriac'.

(p.304) 2. Bilingualism in North Syria

In contrast to the plethora of Aramaic inscriptions and the Syriac and Jewish Babylonian Aramaic literature further east, one cannot but be struck by the paucity of evidence for Aramaic usage in Syria in the first five centuries of the present era. The great literary figures, whether pagan or Christian, such as Libanius, Lucian, and John Chrysostom, all wrote in Greek, and every one of the thousands of extant inscriptions west of the River Euphrates appears to have been written in Greek (or, in limited circumstances, Latin) until the late fourth century, when there is a single bilingual Syriac/ Greek inscription from Babisqa in the Jebel Bārīshā (*IGLS* ii. 555). Even then there are few further Syriac inscriptions until the fifth and sixth centuries, and furthermore it should be noted that Syriac was not actually the local Aramaic dialect, but simply a literary H variety that was steadily growing in importance and geographical range.

Some evidence for the continued use of Aramaic is, however, provided both by the Greek inscriptions and by contemporary literary texts in Greek. Theodoret's comment about the Aramaic dialects known to him in the fifth century has already been mentioned, and to this can be added his mention of an ascetic named Maeedonius (although the people are said to refer to him by his Aramaic name, Gubba) who came to Antioch to intercede with the imperial commissioners on behalf of the citizens after the riot of the statues and spoke in 'the Syrian language', which had to be translated (*Hist. Rel.* 13, PG 82. 1404). Again, in a sermon of the late fourth century John Chrysostom encourages his congregation to give a generous welcome to the peasants from the city territory who would soon be streaming into the town for a great festival, for, he says, 'they seem a backwards people to us in language, but in faith we are united'.¹³ Also of interest is the testimony of Jerome, who in 374/5 retreated to a cell in the region of Chalcis for two or three years. Writing to friends at Aquileia (*Ep.* 7. 2), he grumbles that the only Latin conversation he could now have was in correspondence with them since he was surrounded by Aramaic speakers, and he further complains: **(p.305)** 'either I must learn the barbarous gibberish or I must keep my mouth shut'.¹⁴

There would at first sight appear here to be a simple division between the Aramaic-speaking *chora* and the Greek-speaking *polls*, but the situation was certainly more complicated than this. Not only was there an Aramaic-speaking ‘underclass’ in Antioch and the other cities—Libanius, typically, refers to Aramaic-speaking ‘tinkers’ (*Or.* 42. 31)—but there are several references to higher-status primary bilinguals.¹⁵ The earliest of these to come into view is Tatian in the second century, who describes himself as ‘Assurios’, a vague term which may mean no more than ‘Syrian’, though it could imply an origin further east, who wrote his *Oratio ad Graecos* in Greek, and his famous harmony of the gospels, the *Diatessaron*, in Syriac (Petersen 1986).¹⁶ Also of the second century is Iamblichus, the novelist, who is reported by Photius as saying that he was a Syrian on both his mother’s and his father’s side, ‘not one of the Greeks inhabiting Syria, but one of the natives, speaking their language and living by their customs’.¹⁷ From the same city comes Rabbula, the famous bishop of Edessa (d. 435), who was born to wealthy pagan parents and received a good Greek education, but wrote in both Syriac and Greek.¹⁸ Finally, from the fourth century we have Theodore, later bishop of Mopsuestia (b. c.350), and Theodoret again (b. 393), both born to rich parents in Antioch. Not only do both men reveal a clear knowledge of Aramaic in their biblical commentaries, but both of Theodoret’s parents are recorded **(p.306)** as visiting and talking with the Aramaic monoglot Macedonius, to whom reference has already been made.

2.1. The inscriptions

The linguistic complexity of the region is also revealed by an examination of the numerous surviving inscriptions, most of which are fairly short and modest in intent. They include funerary texts, the commemoration of the construction of buildings, and requests for divine protection (Kennedy and Liebesehuetz 1988: 69). In the past highly generalized statements have been made about both the historical and the linguistic information provided by these texts, but an impressive recent study (Trombley 1994: 247–315) has demonstrated the need for a much closer examination. Trombley has convincingly shown that Christianity ‘spread through northern Syria at rates that differed from massif to massif and from village to village’ (1994: 311), and *prima facie* it does not seem unreasonable to suppose that language skills and usage will have similarly varied from one small community to the next.¹⁹

To take an obvious, if extreme, example, Latin inscriptions are rather rare, and are usually restricted to funerary inscriptions for soldiers, veterans, and their wives, such as the second- and third-century inscriptions found in Qātūrā in the Jebel Halaqah (*IGLS* ii. 455) and in Qal’at il-Mudîq, in the ruins of Apamea (*IGLS* iv. 1359–62, 1371–5). From these Latin texts, and the closely related Greek inscriptions, it is clear that those commemorated came from all over the Empire, even Rome itself,²⁰ and so their language use is unlikely to have been typical of surrounding villages.

As has already been noted, the great majority of the inscriptions are in Greek and they would appear to have been produced for, and possibly by, natives of the region. This is demonstrated by the occurrence of numerous Aramaic personal names in the inscriptions at all periods.²¹ Needless to say, the use of Aramaic names for people **(p.307)** and places does not *prove* that Aramaic was spoken in a particular location, any more than Gaelic names in Scotland and Ireland are proof of current language use. Neither, however, is the use of Greek in the inscriptions proof that this was widely understood. The suspicion that it was not is encouraged by an analysis of the inscriptional materials further south in the Hawran. There also all the texts from this period are preserved in Greek and Latin (plus much shorter texts in Safaitic), and the region seems thoroughly Hellenized, and yet one inscription (*IGR* iii, 1191, cf. Jones 1940: 290) records the name of a translator required for the procurators.

2.2. Aramaic interference in Greek inscriptions

For a more accurate picture of local language use the numerous inscriptions need to be closely examined. In addition to the highly literate Greek inscriptions produced by government officials and residents with foreign origins, there are some good-quality texts associated with locals. Many of these appear to have been produced by educated pagans, such as the series of inscriptions from the late first/early second century recording donations for the construction of the temenos of Zeus Madbachos on top of Jebel Shekh Berekât (*JGLS* ii. 465–75), and the fascinating fourth-century funerary inscriptions of Abedrapsas from Frîkyā on the Jebel Rîhā.²² Texts from the Christian period are less impressive, but they include a hymn on the subject of Christ from Šnân (*IGLS* iv. 1403), and a funerary text from Hâss (*IGLS* iv. 1522). This last contains a remarkable number of errors, but arguably these all relate to literacy and pronunciation rather than to the fluency of the author.

(p.308) This suggestion that the failure to write accurate Greek does not necessarily imply a lack of ability in spoken Greek is reinforced by a short inscription on a lintel in Bāshakûh, Jebel Bārîshā (*IGLS* ii. 573), where the wordplay in part depends upon the local pronunciation/orthography (*Συμεόνου* for *Σιμεώνου*, *συμίνου* for *σημαίνου*, and *σύμενε* for *σήμαινε*).²³

(1) *Κ (ύρι)ε βοήθι 'Ιωάνη υἱὸν Συμόνου τοῦ Δορελ. | συμένου τὸν τόπον καὶ σύμενε νῖδ' αὐτοῦ.*

Lord help loanes son of Simeones the (son) of Dorel: Mark [i.e. seal] for thyself this place, and mark [i.e. point out] for its son (his way).

The existence of a distinctive Syrian accent among certain Greek speakers is clearly evident both from the testimony of contemporaries—the historian Socrates notes (*Historia Ecclesiastica* 6, 11) that Severian of Gabala, a skilled rhetor, had a strong local accent, despite his fine Greek education—and from the orthography of the inscriptions. Particularly noticeable is the frequent replacement of long vowels and diphthongs by short vowels, although this phenomenon is not restricted to Syria (Gignac 1976). It has occasionally been suggested that this is due to phonemic interference from Aramaic, but this would be very hard to substantiate given that so little is known of the phonology of the local Aramaic dialects.

2.2.1. Grammatical interference

It is easier to identify examples of grammatical interference. Since Aramaic is a Semitic language and Greek is Indo-European there are many linguistic differences: for example, Aramaic has no case endings, no definite article,²⁴ no comparative or superlative, few adjectives, and a radically different verbal system (Brock 1977 *b*). It is precisely at these points that interference can be detected.

For example, many inscriptions contain fewer instances of the definite article than might be expected.²⁵ An inscription on a house (**p.309**) in Refâdeh, Jebel Halaqah, contains a commonly used citation from Psalm 120: 8—complete with definite articles—but then continues: *Ἐπληρόθη στοὰ ἐν μηνί*... '(This) stoa was completed in the month...' (*IGLS* ii. 431). A longer text from Hâss (*IGLS* iv. 1523), containing several Aramaic names, has a single definite article and that is in the wrong gender:

(2) *Ἔτο (υ)ς ζιπχ, Γορπι[αί]ου εἰ, Βαραδώνης Βαχχίλου κὲ Μαρί vs κὲ ἀδ|ελφῇ σ<υ>νετέ λες (σν) τὸν μνημῖ ον, κὲ ὑὲ Ἀγριπίνου κὲ ὑ Ζεώρα | κὲ ζήσουσιν πολυχρονίου.*

In (the) year 687, 15th of Gorpaios, Baradones (son) of Bakhkhilos, and Marines and (their) sister joined in completing the tomb, and (the) sons of Agripinos and (the) sons of Zeoras; and they shall live to (the) ages.

Another possible example of interference is the failure to use appropriate case endings (although examples of this have been found in contemporary Greek texts from other regions), and it is the dative case which most frequently seems to be affected. A very clear set of examples of this phenomenon are associated with the verb $\beta\omega\eta\theta\acute{\epsilon}\omega$, which is used very frequently in the inscriptions and which normally governs the dative case. In three inscriptions from the Jebel Bārīshā it is followed by an accusative. In the first two instances it occurs as a participle; *IGLS* ii. 611, from Jūwānīyeh, dated AD 374, reads $\acute{\omicron}\ \beta\omega\eta\theta\acute{\omega}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \varphi\omega\beta\upsilon\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$, and *IGLS* ii. 561, from Bābisqā, dated AD 390, has $\acute{\omicron}\ \beta\omicron\epsilon\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$. In the third case, an undated inscription from Bāqirhā (*IGLS* ii. 567), the accusative follows a future form of the verb, $\beta\omega\eta\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\iota\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \varphi\omicron\nu\beta\omicron\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$. In two instances it is followed by the genitive; the first (*IGLS* ii. 537) is an imperative in an early sixth-century text from Dār Qītā, again in the Jebel Bārīshā, $\beta\omega\eta\theta\iota\sigma\omicron\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron\nu$, the second (*IGLS* iv. 1488) is another participle found on a sarcophagus dated AD 463, from Mijleyyā on the Jebel Rîhā, $[\acute{\omicron}\ \beta]\ \sigma\eta\theta\acute{\omicron}\nu\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\psi\alpha\nu\tau\ (\omicron\varsigma)\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\ \upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\gamma\nu\acute{\omicron}\sigma\kappa\omicron\nu\ (\tau\omicron\varsigma)$.

Similar confusion is occasionally found with prepositions. For example, a funerary inscription from Dāna (*IGLS* iv. 1425) reads:

(3) [*Po*]υφι̇νος Γούρου ἔ κτησεν μνημόσυνον ἅμα | συνβίου ατοῦ
 Ὀλυμπιανῆς |
(p.310)

Rouphinos (son) of Guras built (this) monument with his wife Olympiane’.

Instead of the expected dative with ἅμα,²⁶ a genitive is used, (The lack of definite articles is also noteworthy.) By contrast an inscription (*IGLS* ii. 546) on a baptistery in Dār Qītā, dated AD 567, appears to have ὑπό followed by a dative, instead of an expected genitive: Ἀνηνεόθη ἡ πύλη ... ὑπ (ὀ)τῷ εὐλογ (ητῷ) Ἰωάννη (‘this door was renewed ... under the blessed Ioannes’).

Another possible example of grammatical interference is to be found on a sixth-century tomb in Ruwêhā, Jebel Rîhā (*IGLS* ii. 674):

(4) Βίζζος Πάρδου. | ἔ πηδήμησα καλῶς, | ἦλθα καλῶς, καί κίμε |
 καλῶς. Εὔξεται ὑπὲρ | ἡμοῦ |

Bizzos (son) of Pardos: I sojourned well, I arrived well, and well I lie at rest. Pray for me!

The orthography is clearly rather odd by literary standards (such as κῆμε for κείμαι for ἐμοῦ), but the main problem lies in the final verb—how are we to understand εὔξηται? Prentice (1908: 224) noted the possibility that it might be either a third person singular aorist subjunctive middle, ‘may he pray for me’—presumably added by the engraver, given the change of subject—or an aorist middle used as a passive form, ‘may prayer be offered for me’. He decided, however, that it was best explained as a variant spelling of εὔξητε or εὔξετε, i.e. an active imperative, ‘pray for me!’ Given the frequency of the Aramaic phrase šlw ‘l PN/šlw ‘ly (‘pray for PN!’/‘pray for me!’), in which an active form of the verb is always used, it is possible that the use of the active voice of a deponent verb in this inscription is a consequence of interference from Aramaic.

2.2.2. Lexical interference

I know of only one loanword in the Greek inscriptions of the region, and it is found in a text dated to AD 245 from Dmêr (*IGR* iii. 1093), where the word αειχαλας (=hykl’ ‘temple’) is used to gloss the Greek word for temple, ναός. Other Aramaic words do of course occur in toponyms and in personal names, such as the divine name Ζεὺς Μάδβαχος (=mdbh’ ‘altar’; compare the Greek form Ζεὺς Βωμός, *IGLS* ii. 569), from the inscriptions at the temple on top of Jebel Shêkh Berekât (*IGLS* ii. 465–7S).²⁷

(p.311) A loan translation occurs, in various forms, in several inscriptions. The common Aramaic term for a tomb byt ‘lm’ ‘a house of eternity’ is rendered into Greek at Tell ‘Aqibrîn on the Jebel Halaqah as ἐωίου ο[ἰκ]ου (*IGLS* ii, 505, AD 222), and as οἰκητήριον αἰώνιον at Resm il-Kubbâr on the Jebel il-Hass (*IGLS* ii. 343).²⁸

One oddity of the inscriptions of Syria is the frequency with which the verb γίνομαι is used to express the concrete sense ‘was made’, ‘built’ rather than just ‘came into being’ (cf. *IGLS* ii. 416, 558; iv. 1533). It is conceivable that this semantic development was due to local use of the corresponding Aramaic verb hw’, which occasionally, particularly in passive forms, can also have this sense, but it may equally represent a local development within Greek.²⁹ The complexity of the situation is revealed by a bilingual inscription from Bâqir?â on the the Jebel Bârîshâ (*IGLS* ii. 565) of AD 546;

(5) [bšnt ḥmšm]” wtš’yn wḥinš hw’ hn’ tr’ d’bdh šmš’ ‘wsb wḥnyn” |
l’wdrn’ dn[pšhwn]ήριον
Ἔτους εἰ/φ, μη(νός) Δησίουβ’, ἐγέ(νε)τωό πυλ[ών] |

The Syriac, written above the Greek on the lintel, reads: ‘[in the year five hund]red and ninety-five was (built) this door, which he made it the deacon Eusebios and Hannina’a for the help of [their souls]’. (The Greek is more succinct: ‘In the year 595, in the month Daisios 12, was (built) the door’.)

The Syriac here is rather odd. The verb *hw'*, 'was', occurs before the subject, not after it, as would be usual in Syriac. Since it occurs in the same relative position as ἔ γέ (νε)τω in the Greek it seems likely that its use is the consequence of interference from Greek. The Syriac relative clause employs the verb *'bd*, a common verb meaning 'to make'. Is this clause added as a gloss to the preceding *hw'*, or is its function just to introduce the names of the builders who are ignored in the Greek?

(p.312) 2.3. Aramaic interference in Syriac inscriptions

Because earlier studies of the inscriptions of Syria have failed to distinguish between the local Aramaic dialects and Syriac there has been no attempt to see whether any evidence remains of the influence of the former on the latter. As might be guessed, there are numerous examples of non-standard orthography in the Syriac inscriptions, such as *ḥšbn'* for *ḥwšbh'* ('reckoning', AAES iv. 6: Khirbit Hasan, AD 507), *rḥ'* for *rwh'* ('Spirit', AAES iv. 1: Qalb Lauzeh), and *bt* for *byt* ('house', AAES iv. 8: Dêhes), as well as the forms *'t'/'th* for the standard Syriac *'dt'/'dth* ('church'/'his church', AAES iv. 6, 8), which reflect the Syriac practice of not pronouncing the dalet in the singular emphatic form of this noun. While some of these forms are attested in other Aramaic dialects, they are best explained not as examples of interference but as defective spellings, since some are also to be found in the early Syriac inscriptions of Edessa (Drijvers and Healey 1999: 22–4). The influence of local pronunciation can be seen, in a limited way, in the inscription from Khirbit Hasan (AAES iv. 6), where 'Antioch' is referred to as *'nṭky'*, i.e. Anṭakiya, the local name for the city that is still used today, rather than the usual Syriac *'nṭywky'*, which is modelled on the Greek form Ἀντιόχεια.

More significant, however, is the fact that in a number of words certain guttural or laryngeal sounds have been omitted or interchanged, for example: *tšbwet'* for *tšbwht'* ('praise', AAES iv. 2: Bshindelâyā), 'y' for *hy'* ('living', AAES iv. 8), *y'qwb* for *y'qwb* ('Jacob', IGLS ii. 555; Bābisqā, AD 389),³⁰ and perhaps also *βεπε* for *βεπεχ* (i.e. *brk* 'bless!') at Zebed (IGLS ii. 314). It could be argued that these unusual forms are all the products of careless engravers, but the fact that in each case it is a guttural letter that is involved (or in the case of the Greek transcription from Zebed a fricative kaph) suggests that there is a genuine pattern here that reflects the local pronunciation. As will be remembered from the anecdote cited from the Talmud above, the exchange or loss of guttural sounds was typical of Galilean Aramaic, and it is also characteristic of Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Müller-Kessler 1991: § 2.9) and Samaritan Aramaic (Macuch 1982: § 3 and 258 n. 89). The famous 'Zebed trilingual' inscription (IGLS ii. 310), which in addition to **(p.313)** Syriac and Greek has the earliest dated Arabic inscription written in the modern script, contains the word *qmt'* for the standard Syriac *qdmyt'* or *qdm't'* ('first'). The same assimilation of the dalet in this word is typical of Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Schulthess 1903: 175), Jewish Palestinian Aramaic (Sokoloff 1990: 476), and Samaritan Aramaic (Macuch 1982: 92).

Lexical interference may be discernible in the inscription from Qalb Lauzeh (AAES iv. 1), where the writer refers to himself as *sgwd'db'wdb'r'wdrh'dqdš* 'a worshipper of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit'. The form *b'* for the usual '*b*' ('Abba', 'father') could be an error by the engraver, who omitted the initial aleph, or it could be a phonetic spelling (*dabbâ* for *d'abbâ*). Alternatively, I would like to suggest, it could be the dialect word *ba* meaning 'father' (related to the Syriac *bābâ* 'daddy') that is attested in such diverse Aramaic witnesses as the Jewish Targum Onqelos (Jastrow 1903: 134) and the Neo-Aramaic dialect of south-east Turkey called Turoyo (Ritter 1979: 43). That the evidence needs to be handled carefully is clear from the reference to the 'Spirit of Holiness', *rh'dqdš*, in the same text. Both words are spelt defectively, omitting the waw, which is not common in Syriac but is not improbable in an inscription. One would expect a final aleph after *qdš*, however, and its absence is puzzling. Is this proof that the engraver was not very careful, or is this an irregular use of the absolute form of the noun (*qdūš*), or even a sign of interference from the Arabic *quds*?

The complexity of the local linguistic situation is clear not only from the trilingual inscription, but also from a series of short inscriptions on decorated stone panels which formed part of the *bēma* in the basilica of St Sergis. The first of these (IGLS ii. 312) reads: *Ζαωρθα σαμασθα*, i.e. *z 'wrt' šmšt'* 'Za'ôrtâ the deaconess'. The third (IGLS ii. 314) reads: *Ραβουλα Βασσωνι Σεργις βερεδουχραναν*,³¹ 'Rabbula, Bassonis, Sergis, blessed be our memory'.³² These raise an interesting question; what language did the engravers believe they were writing? The Aramaic ecclesiastical title in the first inscription could conceivably be a local loanword in Greek, but the pious tag in the second is surely an example of code-switching. The use **(p.314)** of the Greek script may suggest, however, that the writers were not conscious of this code-switching taking place—as so often appears to be the case with bilingual speakers.³³ That it is not simply due to lack of literacy in Syriac is indicated by the inscription on the panel between the two already discussed (IGLS ii. 313). It reads: *'n' rbwl' 'bdyt trwnws' dwkrn (y)hw'lbwrkt'* 'I Rabbula made the throne. May my memory be a blessing!'³⁴ Here one might notice both the appearance of a Greek loanword, *trwnws'* (θρόνος), and, if the emendation I propose in the footnote is correct, a verbal form influenced by the local Aramaic dialect.

2.4. Conclusions

Quite apart from soldiers, veterans, and government officials, it seems clear that significant numbers of individuals in northern Syria, even outside the cities, had productive control of Greek, though their accent and standards of literacy may have appalled the scholars of the Athenian academies (as it has more recent scholars). Even among the educated elites, however, there were many **(p.315)** who also spoke the local dialects of Aramaic, and so it should not be surprising to discover that there are traces of Aramaic interference in both the Greek and Syriac inscriptions produced by more humble figures. From the limited linguistic material produced by this study it would appear that these local dialects shared a number of features with the Aramaic dialects spoken in Galilee and northern Palestine, as against that from Edessa, which became Syriac.

From the point of view of diglossia, one can make a number of observations. Greek is the language of choice in the region for formal inscriptions, and so is used by both pagans and Christians, with Greek, Aramaic, and Arabic names. It is also clearly the language of the earliest Christian liturgies in the region, for there are numerous inscriptions above the doorways of private houses, as well as churches, which contain citations from these liturgies (Prentice 1908: 8-16). As Trombley has shown (1994: eh. 10), Greek inscriptions were often placed above doorways in Syria to proclaim the conversion of the household to Christianity, and there are many more which seem to have an apotropaic function. These inscriptions might simply represent the continuation of the tradition of using Greek for public inscriptions, or they might suggest that in the early period of Christian expansion Greek was explicitly identified as the language of Christian faith and worship.

It is tempting to suggest that this was encouraged by the association of Aramaic with pagan religious practice. From the Aramaic loanword *αειχλας* used at Dmêr and the preserved names of the gods, it is clear that at one point Aramaic was the language of the local cults, but it is hard to know whether this was a vital tradition in the late antique period. The association of Aramaic with the cults may be reflected, however, in a rather unusual linguistic domain, conversation with the Devil and evil spirits (not a domain, I suspect, that most linguists need even consider). This is evidenced in Jerome's life of Hilarion (*Vit. Hit.* 21), a bilingual hermit from the region of Gaza, who is said to have rebuked and exorcised a demon possessing a Bactrian camel by use of Aramaic, and by Theodoret's account (*Hist. Rel.* 21. 15) of a dream in which an Aramaic-speaking demon urged him not to persecute the Marcionites. Reference might also be made to the Syriac practice, already found in the Old Syriac Gospels and Peshitta New Testaments, **(p.316)** of translating *Ἑλληνες* by *'armāyê* 'Aramaeans', which was understood by the native lexica as a synonym for 'pagans'.³⁵

With the fourth and fifth centuries Syriac inscriptions begin to appear in north Syria. Some of these (e.g. *AAES* iv. 19, 20 from Mektebeh, sixth century) accurately quote the Peshitta Psalter, which suggests that Syriac was introduced as the liturgical language in some villages, and this may have encouraged its development as an alternative H variety (with Aramaic as its corresponding L variety). It is notable in this context that by AD 547 Syriac appears to have become prominent enough in Bābisqā for it to be used to commemorate the construction of a secular building, possibly a bazaar (*AAES* iv. 14, 15). In other words, these inscriptions mark the appearance, after a long break, of a new standard literary Aramaic form, Syriac, in the region.³⁶

Interesting evidence for a personal, rather than societal, attitude towards the two H varieties, Greek and Syriac, can be gleaned from a short and rather crude bilingual inscription from Mektebeh, Jebel il-Hass (*IGLS* ii. 337, AD 508/9). It reads:

(6) ✠ ΑΩ Χ (ριστὸς) (ὁ ἐ κ)Μ (αρίας) | γεννηθεῖς) (Ἐτους) κω'. |
 ✠ 'lh' 'bd 'dm br bss |
 ✠ A(lpha and) O(mega), C(hrist) b(orn of) M(ary). (In the year) 820.
 ✠ God help Bar Bassos.³⁷

Both Greek and Syriac express pious sentiments. Arguably the Greek is a formulaic statement of faith, whereas the Syriac represents a direct appeal to God. More importantly, however, it is the Greek that provides the date, the stamp of official documents, and **(p.317)** the Syriac that gives the only personal information, the writer's name.

3. Palmyra

In contrast to the situation in western Syria, during the early centuries of the Common Era the usual language employed in public inscriptions in the Nabataean kingdom, Hatra, Palmyra, and Edessa was Aramaic, engraved in distinctive local scripts. Of these the Palmyrene texts,³⁸ which range in date from 44 BC to AD 279/80 (al-As'ad and Gawlikowski 1986–7: 167), are of particular interest because significant numbers were engraved in both Greek and Aramaic, Latin and Aramaic, or in all three languages.³⁹

The local linguistic situation is, again, complex. Only a few Latin inscriptions have been recovered from Palmyra, and these are usually associated with the army and their construction works, or with visiting officials such as a Roman tax collector.⁴⁰ It seems unlikely that outside these limited circles it was widely known (cf. Millar 1995).

It is clear that Arabic exercised some influence. Many of the local personal and divine names, as well as the names of the four major local tribes, appear to be of Arabic derivation rather than Aramaic (Stark 1971). There are also several Arabic loanwords which seem to relate to the social organization of the population (Cantineau 1935: 149–52): for example, *rgly* 'person, man' (cf. Arabic (p.318) *rajul*)⁴¹ used of slaves (Davis and Stuckenbruck 1992: 266); *gbl* 'assembly, community' (cf. Arabic *jubl* 'crowd', South Arabian *gblt* 'tribe'); *phd* 'tribe' (Arabic *fa??* 'subdivision of a tribe'). However, it seems unlikely that Arabic was the primary language of the locals for several reasons: there are various memorial inscriptions from around the Roman Empire erected by Palmyrene merchants and soldiers (e.g. *PAT* 0246–0255, 0990, 0994) in which in addition to the main Latin (or Greek) text there is a short Palmyrene Aramaic text. It seems unlikely that in addition to acquiring basic literacy in the Palmyrene script the soldiers also learnt the rudiments of a non-native literary language before joining the army. Second, in the various inscriptions from villages and regions at some distance from the city itself⁴² there is no evidence in the Aramaic of an increase in interference from other languages. Finally, there is a short Palmyrene Aramaic graffito from Dura Europos (*PAT* 1117) which was written in Greek script, and it might be argued that this is best understood as having been produced by someone familiar with the spoken language but not of sufficient formal Palmyrene education to know the script.

The Greek preserved in the inscriptions of Palmyra is usually of good quality, conforming to contemporary literary standards. There is very little evidence of interference from either regional pronunciation or local dialect forms, and Greek proper names are rare, which suggests that in most cases Greek was a language acquired through formal education⁴³ and was not spoken in the domestic context. A brief examination of Greek loanwords in Palmyrene Aramaic is also informative: Cantineau (1935: 154–7) lists 46, to which no doubt a few more could now be added, of which 26 relate to politics (the titles of city institutions and of senior officials), 8 to commerce, and 8 to architecture.

The lexical interference of Greek in the local language would thus appear to have been very limited, and it is clearly restricted **(p.319)** to those activities which brought Palmyra into contact with the wider world. It is tempting to suggest that Greek had the status of an H variety among the political and merchant élites, particularly as Greek inscriptions are frequently found (nearly always engraved above the corresponding Aramaic) on high-status public monuments—on the outside of temples, or on the base of statues erected in honour of leading citizens by the *dēmos* and *boulē*, or at strategic places on many of the most expensive funerary towers.⁴⁴ However, there are some serious objections to such a simple dichotomy. First, although the uneducated presumably knew but little Greek, it is far from clear that the overwhelming majority of Palmyrene inscriptions which do not have Greek texts can simply be assigned to such non-élite groups. There are not only numerous statue bases from public locations with honorific inscriptions engraved in Aramaic alone,⁴⁵ but the inscriptions which identify the deceased on the famous Palmyrene funerary statues⁴⁶—which display the deceased in all their finery, sometimes with their family members gathered around them, and which were clearly costly and prestigious items—are almost always in Aramaic rather than Greek⁴⁷ (unlike the funerary foundation and cession inscriptions, which are texts of legal importance). This feature would then link these fine carvings with the humble memorial inscriptions of soldiers serving in the Roman army mentioned above. Conceivably this phenomenon is related to the psychology of identity, in other words the citizens of Palmyra felt that their true identity required expression in their native tongue, Aramaic, but it would perhaps be more accurate to suggest that at Palmyra Aramaic was considered the appropriate language for the linguistic domain of religion. There is certainly significant evidence to support this association, for the great majority of the inscriptions incorporated within the various temples, particularly those on the internal walls, are written in Aramaic, and a recently discovered inscription of the first century AD (*PAT* 0991) providing **(p.320)** detailed instructions for the holding of a sacred feast in honour of Balastor and Beelshamen appears to have been engraved in Aramaic only.

The use of Greek, then, is associated with public activities, whether the running of the city and its dependent territories, or the public honouring of notable citizens and foreign dignitaries. This was encouraged both by cultural pressures, the desire to be seen as an oasis of civilization in the midst of barbarism and not just as a convenient watering hole, as well as by pragmatism—there is little point in being honoured with a public statue if visitors cannot read the inscription and identify you, nor in promulgating a tax code specifically intended to put an end to disputes between customs officials and caravans (*PAT* 0259) if the text is incomprehensible to one party. On the other hand, although Palmyra is by most criteria a Hellenistic city, from the available evidence it would appear that Greek never fully displaced Aramaic, which continued to be used for official purposes.⁴⁸ Indeed, I would go further and argue that at Palmyra there were two H varieties, Greek and Aramaic (with Arabic as one possible L variety), which had equal public status, although both were associated with particular specialist functions and linguistic domains.

Particularly intriguing, in the light of this, is the relationship of the Greek and Aramaic texts of the bilingual inscriptions. Although in some the corresponding texts are of similar length, in others they differ considerably, and among these latter Cantineau (1935: 5) observed a pattern: whereas in the first century AD bilingual inscriptions often have the main text in Aramaic accompanied by a short Greek résumé, by the third century this relationship was reversed. Despite this Teixidor (1981) has argued that the Greek text of all bilingual inscriptions is always secondary, and Drijvers has countered with a paper that seeks ‘to demonstrate that the Aramaic of the bilingual Palmyrene inscriptions often shows certain characteristics and peculiarities ... that make clear that the Aramaic is translated from the Greek and only understandable in the light of the Greek version’ (1995: 33).

(p.321) There seems to me to be a third possibility which has not yet been considered, that given the presence of numerous balanced bilinguals (as would be required in a city with two official languages), there is no need for one text of a multi-lingual inscription to be directly translated from another, but each can be composed independently according to the usual stylistic norms and linguistic idiosyncrasies of the particular language and associated culture. Furthermore, some studies of bilingualism and bilingual individuals, e.g. Ervin-Tripp (1967; Japanese–English bilinguals) and Bentahila (1983: 39–49; Arabic–French bilinguals in Morocco), have shown that not only are languages sometimes associated with a particular world-view but, especially when one language is associated with the ‘modern world’ and another with traditional culture and religion, the language used at a given moment can influence the outlook and attitudes expressed about life and society.

There are numerous examples of bilingual inscriptions where the two texts are not dramatically different, and yet it is clear that each is an independent product conforming to accepted conventions. The following (PAT 0297), however, is particularly instructive:

(7) Ἀλαί[ν]ην Αἰράνον τ ο[ῦ] Ἀλα[ι]νῆ Σεφφερά ο[ἰ] ἐγγ[έ]νους (sic) Ζαβ-διβω λείων τεῖμῆς ἔνεκεν μη[νί] Δύ-στρ[ω]τ οὔ [Ἰ/ε' ἔτους]	šlm'dnh dy 'l[y]n'br ḥ yrn br [']lyn' š[pr']dy 'qymw lh bny zbdbwl k[l-hw]n bdyldy špr lhwn lyq[r]h byrh 'dr šnt 4,100 + 80 + 10 w'bd qlštr['dy]ksp'qd[m]šmš 'lh[']
To 'Alaine (son) of Hairan (son) of 'Aiaine Seppera, the tribe of Zab-dibol, for honour, in the month of Dustros of the year 490.	This is the statue of 'Alaine son of Hairan son of 'Alaine ?eppera which the whole tribe of Zabdi-bol erected for him because he was good to them, to his honour, in the month of Adar, the year 490. And he made the silver rail ⁴⁹ be fore Šamaš the god.

Both the Greek and Aramaic texts follow epigraphic conventions that are well known at Palmyra and elsewhere: the Greek is terse, opens with a reference to the honorand in the accusative, and lacks a verb, while the Aramaic has the opening formula 'this is the statue of PN', and is generally more expansive. The addition in the Aramaic text after the dating formula is particularly interesting, **(p.322)** because it suggests that not only did another thought occur to the engraver after he had come to a natural conclusion, but he also felt able to add it to the text. All of this evidence suggests that there is a dynamic process at work here, an extemporization emanating from the mind of a bilingual craftsman, rather than the transfer to stone of a pre-prepared *verbum e verba* translation.

It might be supposed that such a process was limited to short inscriptions following well-defined conventions, but an examination of a number of longer texts suggests otherwise. For example, PAT 0269 (AD 51), which records the generosity of one Moqîmô son of 'Ogeilô, surnamed Hokkaišô, is worded quite differently in the two versions. The Aramaic provides extra details of his lineage and at the end notes that the whole community of the Palmyrenes raised the statue because 'he was good [to them] and made an offering to the temple of their gods'. The Greek, in the second line, states that 'he was pleasing to her [i.e. the city] and to the gods, giving at his own expense to the temple ...', and then lists in far more detail than the Aramaic the items donated with their value. Neither of these versions is a translation, or a *précis*, of the other.

An important text from AD 131 (PAT 0305) which records the visit to Palmyra of the Emperor Hadrian reads:

<p>(8) Ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Μαλῆν τὸν καὶ Ἀγρίππαν Ἰαραίου τοῦ Ῥααίου, γραμμα τέα γενόμενον τὸ δεύτε ρον ἐπιδημ[ία] θεῶ Ἀρι ανοῦ ἄλμμα παρα (σ)χόν τα ξένοις τε καὶ <i>m</i> πολεί-ται[ς,] ἐν πᾶσιν ὑπηρετήσαντα τ[ῶν] στρτευμάων ὑπο[δοχ] Ἡ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τὸν [τοῦ] Διὸς σὺν τῷ π[ρο] ναίῳ[καὶ σὺν] ταίς ἄλλαι[ς]α[ὕτ[οῦ] στοαίς ἐκ τῶν] ιδ[ίων...]</p>	<p><i>mn twḥyt bwl'wdmws [šlm'dnh dy ml'] br yrḥy l[šmš] r 'y dy hw' grm- ṭws dy trty' wkdy 't 'mr] n hdry n' 'lh' yhb mšh' Ibny md[yut' wl 'str-ṭwm'l wl'ksny' dy 't' 'mh w špr Im]dylh b[k]l md'n wbn' hykl' wpr-n'[yn wtšb]yth k[l]h mn kysh Ib'l-šmn wldrḥ[lwn...]h d[...] mn buy ydy'bl byr[ḥ nys n šnt 1 + [3]. 100 + 40 + 2</i></p>
<p>The Council and the People; to Male, who is also (called) Agrippa, (son) of Yarhai, (son) of Ra'ai, being secretary for the second time, on the visit of the divine Hadrian provided oil for both foreigners and citizens. In all things he rendered service for the reception of the soldiers, and [constructed] the temple of Zeus as well as the pro-naos [and it]s other [porticoes out of his own] expen[ses] ...</p>	<p>By decree of the Council and the People [this is the statue of Male] son of Yarhai Lifšamš] Ra'ai, who was secretary for the second time; and when our [lord] the divine Hadrian came he gave oil to the citize[ns and to] the sol[diers] and to the foreigners who came with him, and [he was good to] his [ci]ty⁵⁰ in every matter, and he built the temple and the prona[os and] all its [ornamentajtion out of his (own) purse for Ba'al Shamin and for Dura?[lun and for ...] from the sons of Yadi'bel in the mon[th of Nisa]n, year [4]42.</p>

(p.323) As earlier commentators (Davis and Stuckenbruck 1992: 276) observed, ‘the divergences in these parallel versions stand in the way of assuming a translation process’. Essentially the same information is conveyed, but there is a marked difference in wording, as well as the occurrence of dynamic equivalence, most notably the use of Διός-corresponding to *b’lšmn* and *drh[lwn]*. Similar correspondences between the Greek and Aramaic names of gods can be found in many inscriptions, e.g. *PAT 0258* (AD 134) and *PAT 1356* (AD 56 or 60). In the Greek text Male’s nomen, Agrippa, is recorded in the Roman style, but this is omitted in the Aramaic, where another ancestor, Lišamš, is listed instead. Again the omission in Aramaic of Roman names recorded in the Greek is also to be found elsewhere, e.g. *PAT 0514* (Πόπλιος Αἴλιος, AD 118), and *PAT 1417* (‘ουλία Αύρηλία, AD> 214 or 216). In the other direction, tribal affiliation is provided in the Aramaic but omitted by the Greek in numerous inscriptions, e.g. *PAT 0269* (AD 51), 1376 (AD 81), 2778 (AD 84), 1154 (AD 159). Finally, it is surely no accident that the Greek text has Male giving oil to ‘foreigners and citizens’, whereas the Aramaic lists them in the order ‘citizens, soldiers, and foreigners’.

Although dynamic equivalence is also found in some literary translations (Brock 1983: 6), I would argue that the range of phenomena found in this inscription suggests that it, like the great majority of bilingual inscriptions from Palmyra, was produced by a bilingual speaker. This individual did not start with a text in one language and then translate it into another, but had some essential information that he wished to communicate in two different languages. While he was doing this the cultural assumptions and attitudes associated with each language subtly modified the phrasing of the written texts. This is not to claim that there are no examples of Greek interference, stylistic or linguistic, in Palmyrene Aramaic inscriptions, because that would be unsustainable (see e.g. *PAT (p.324) 0283* of AD 258, and *PAT 1135* of AD 191), but this is not typical of the bilingual texts. Furthermore, it is still a big leap from demonstrating interference to demonstrating the priority of one text over another.

4. Syriac and Greek

In contrast to the relative paucity of both primary and secondary material for the study of Aramaic–Greek linguistic contact in northern Syria and at Palmyra, there is a voluminous literary tradition in Syriac (beginning with a funerary inscription from Birecik, west of Edessa, dated AD 6, and continuing to the present day) as well as numerous scholarly studies, most notably the ground-breaking articles of Sebastian Brock (see the bibliography).

Unlike the Aramaic dialects of rival cities and kingdoms such as Palmyra, Hatra, and Nabataea, where the local script disappeared soon after their fall, in Edessa Syriac survived the loss of independence that occurred in AD 213/14. Indeed, it not only survived but it flourished, as is shown by the numerous pagan inscriptions in stone and mosaic of the first three centuries of the Common Era (Drijvers and Healey 1999), its employment by Muni (d. c.276), the founder of the Manichees, in six of his seven known works (the other being in Persian), and in the extensive Christian literature which is mostly biblical and theological but which also contains a large corpus of historical, philosophical, and medical texts—the latter two categories being largely translations of Greek originals (brief survey in Taylor forthcoming). As the examination of the Syriac inscriptions of north Syria made clear, the geographical range of Syriac was also expanding, so that it came to be employed as a high-status literary language by speakers of other Aramaic dialects,⁵¹ and eventually by Christian converts as far away as China and Siberia.

There is also some evidence to suggest that Syriac was actively employed in secular life, for three parchment texts dating to the 240s have been found in Mesopotamia. These documents contain a bill of sale, a contract relating to the lease of land, and an acknowledgement of the receipt of a debt. Many others, apparently **(p.325)** from the same archive, though written in Greek, preserve Syriac signatures (Drijvers and Healey 1999: 231–48; Brock 19946: 151–2). Syriac would appear, then, to have been an acceptable language in which to conduct formal business, and it is possible that this practice continued for far longer than our present documentary evidence would suggest, for contrary to expectation and the assertion of some recent surveys, these parchments are not written in the formal Syriac bookhand known as estrangela, the script of all other surviving manuscripts until the eighth/ninth centuries, but in a cursive documentary or secretarial hand called *serta* that reappears at that date and becomes the dominant literary hand among the Syrian Orthodox. That in the meantime it had a continued existence outside the main manuscript tradition, presumably in business or administrative texts which have not survived, is clearly attested by a manuscript of AD 509 (BM Add 14542) in which it is employed in the colophon (Wright 1870–2: iii, pl. iv).⁵²

A remarkable feature of all these texts, whether epigraphic or literary, is their linguistic uniformity. Apart from the very earliest Syriac inscriptions, which still have a residue of Official Aramaic features (Beyer 1966), it is almost impossible to detect any dialectal influence, the exceptions to this being the inscriptions from north Syria examined above and the manuscript of AD 509 referred to in the previous paragraph.⁵³ The obvious conclusion is that after a break of several hundred years there is once again a standard literary form, of Aramaic being taught in scribal schools, whether these be training centres for the civil government in Edessa,⁵⁴ or the small local institutions attached to the spreading monasteries (Segal 1955), or such international academies as the famous School of the Persians in Edessa where grammar, pronunciation, and recitation were a fixed part of the syllabus (Vööbus 1965: 13), and which must thus have exercised a normative, standardizing influence on Syriac instruction elsewhere.⁵⁵

(p.326) During the early centuries of the Common Era it is clear that Greek culture had a major impact on both the art⁵⁶ and the literature of Edessa—indeed, some of the oldest Syriac writings⁵⁷ show a marked interest in hellenistic philosophy (Bowersock 1990: ch. 3; Brock 1982). Like the bilingual inscriptions of Palmyra, however, the earliest texts surviving in both Greek and Syriac appear to have been the products of balanced bilinguals,⁵⁸ and thus despite the best efforts of academics it has proved impossible to determine which of the two versions is ‘original’.⁵⁹

Table 12.2. *Frequency of gêr and dêr in Peshitta Texts*

	gêr	dên
Genesis	1	2
Exodus	1	3
Deuteronomy	11	7
Judges	2	1
Proverbs	30	16
Matthew	119	333

The influence of such bilinguals on Syriac in general can probably be seen in the growth in use of the two common Syriac particles *gêr* (possibly from Greek γάρ) and *dên* (which is etymologically distinct from δέ, but, like *gêr*, came to be employed as a 'second-position' word in exactly the same way as the Greek particle). They are already found in the Peshitta Old Testament translations (completed by the mid-third century) which were made from Hebrew, not Greek, but their frequency varies greatly from one book to another, as can be seen from Table 12.2 (which has the Peshitta translation of Matthew—produced by the early fifth century—added as a comparison). In a recent study of the Peshitta, Weitzman (1999: 179) arranged the biblical books on a scale according to their conservatism (**p.327**) or otherwise in accepting lexical innovations, and although he did not include these particles among his discriminators, the pattern to be seen in the table corresponds remarkably well. This suggests that they were in circulation among Syriac speakers for some time,⁶⁰ but that they were not immediately accepted in all circles. By the time of the Peshitta translation of Matthew it is clear that they were fully integrated—they are even a regular feature of the speech of monolinguals such as Ephrem Syrus—because although the Gospel was translated from Greek, the usage of the particles does not depend upon the Greek base text (Brock 1976; 1977 b: 93). It seems reasonable to argue, therefore, that they did not enter Syriac through translation literature but as a consequence of 'tagging', or 'lag-switching'—a form of code-switching (Romaine 1995: 122)—by individual bilingual Greek—Syriac speakers.

Studies of other Greek loanwords (e.g. Schall 1960; Brock 1967; 1975)⁶¹ are primarily of interest for the sociolinguistic patterns they reveal. As might be expected, it is usually nouns that are taken over, and in both pre-Christian and Christian texts these frequently relate to the offices of political and ecclesiastical power (e.g. 'wṭqrṭwr/αὐτοκράτωρ, hṭy'/Ἰνπατεία, hpws/ἱππεύς, ṭrybwnyws/τριβοῶνος,⁶² 'pysqwp'/ἐπίσκοπος) but not, in these early texts, those of humbler rank such as deacons, priests, or monks. Brock (1975: 90–1) has also drawn attention to the number of technical legal terms drawn from Greek (e.g. bym'/βῆμα, dytyq'/διαθήκη, nmws'/νόμος, prqlṭ'/παράκλητος) and (1975: 87) to terms relating to Greek urban culture (e.g. pwtq'/πανδοκεῖον, bn'/βαλνείον, 'stḏ'/στάδιον). To these might also be added a small category relating to banking and precious materials (e.g. ṭrpzyṭ'/τραπεζίτης, glwsqm'/γλωσσόκομον, s'm'/ἄσημον, mrgnyt'/μαργαρίτης, zmrgd'/σμάραγδος).

It might be noticed that some of these loans (e.g. *pwtq'* and *bn'*, to which could be added *pršwp'* (*paršôpâ*)/πρόσωπον) have been significantly adapted during the process of integration into Syriac,⁶³ **(p.328)** presumably by means of local pronunciation. In addition to this phonic integration, there are also some examples of the grammatical integration of Greek words, e.g. the verbs *zawweg* ('to join', 'marry') from ζυγόν; *qatreg* ('to condemn') from κατηγορεύειν; and '*apîs* ('to persuade') from πείσαι. Each of these is then the source of a full range of nouns, adjectives, adverbs, and both active and passive verbal forms. This borrowing of verbs (and particles, as discussed above) is particularly interesting because, unlike nouns, these parts of speech are rarely borrowed by one language from another, and so (following the terminology of Thomason and Kaufman 1988) these are examples of 'heavy borrowing' in Syriac.

Paradoxically, however, despite the vitality and linguistic stability of Syriac in late antiquity, the sixth to eighth centuries witnessed a linguistic revolution that produced an extraordinary hybrid variety of Syriac for use in translating Greek texts that is perhaps the most extreme example of the interference of one language in another to be found in the ancient world (Brock 1971: 34–42; 1977a; 1979; 1983; 1991; Georr 1948: 33–108; Lash 1981; Rørdarn 1859–61; Taylor forthcoming). It is characterized by an extensive relexicalization which took many forms. Brock (1975: 87) illustrated the growing use of Greek loanwords in Syriac texts by referring to the successive Syriac translations of the Gospel of Matthew: there are some forty loans in the Old Syriac translation (third century), forty-three in the Peshitta (fourth century), and approximately seventy in the Harklean (seventh century). The inclusion of Greek words in non-biblical translations over this same period increased even more dramatically,⁶⁴ although many of these are strictly borrowings rather than loanwords. In addition to this, the constituent elements of Greek words are independently translated into Syriac (thus the privative alpha is represented by the negative *l'*, ἐν- by *špyr*, *φóρος* by *ṭ'ynt*); there is a consistent usage of lexical and syntactic calques, even when the corresponding terms do not have the same semantic range (so *šwbh'*, 'glory', renders δόξα even when the latter has the sense 'opinion'); numerous neologisms are formed (such as *hykdhywt*, 'sameness', used to translate ταυτότης, which is formed from three independent Syriac words and an abstract noun ending); independent possessive pronouns are used in preference to suffixed **(p.329)** pronouns; Greek particles have formal equivalents; and occasionally, mostly in biblical translations, even the Greek word order is preserved. In addition, Syriac verbs are made to reflect the Greek tenses, and even the Greek present and aorist participles are distinguished. The methodology underpinning this forced convergence of Syriac and Greek is succinctly expressed by a late sixth-century translator:

This memra was translated and interpreted from Greek into Syriac word for word without alteration in so far as possible, so as to indicate, not just the sense, but, by its very words, the words in the Greek; and for the most part not one letter has been added or subtracted, provided the requirements of the language have not hindered this. (Brock 1983: 9).

The final result of this extraordinary industry is that the Syriac text becomes almost unintelligible to a reader who knows no Greek.

How can this linguistic manipulation be explained, and what are its implications for our understanding of Syriac—Greek bilingualism? It has often been suggested that the key to understanding the shift from free, reader-oriented, translation to a literal, text-oriented, translation technique is the general Hellenization of culture in the Syriac area and the consequent higher prestige of the Greek language in relation to Syriac. Not only is there some evidence that an enthusiasm for Greek learning was far from universal—for example, at the end of the seventh century the great Syrian Orthodox scholar Jacob of Edessa was forced to leave the monastery of Eusebhona, where he had been teaching the monks to read the Greek scriptures, because of disputes with some of the brothers ‘who hated the Greeks’⁶⁵—but even if the premiss be broadly accepted one would have expected that a number of the lexical and syntactical developments found in the translation literature would also be found in works actually composed in Syriac, and yet this is not usually the case. The Syriac texts of mid-sixth-century writers such as John of Ephesus and Daniel of Ṣalaḥ, and the late seventh-century apocalypse of Pseudo-Methodius, contain relatively few Greek loanwords and reveal only limited interference from Greek.

An insight into the motives of the translators themselves is provided by Philoxenus of Mabbug, who in the early sixth century wrote:

(p.330)

When those of old undertook to translate these passages of Scripture they made mistakes in many things, whether intentionally or through ignorance; these mistakes concerned not only what is taught about the economy in the flesh, but various other things concerning different matters. It was for this reason that we have now taken the trouble to have the Holy Scriptures translated anew from Greek into Syriac. (CSCO 380: 53; ET Brock 1982: 20)

This suggests that the linguistic convergence and *verbum e verbo* translation technique was motivated not by a sense of cultural inferiority but by the need to produce authoritative texts in Syriac that could be relied upon when engaged in debate. It is thus no great surprise that the first Syriac translations to be produced in this way are biblical and theological writings, and secondly philosophical texts. In all of these cases, particularly in an era of fierce Christological controversy, it was essential for the Syrians—many of the most famous of whom, it might be noted, were producing their translations while in forced exile from their homeland—that they had access to texts which would accurately reflect the Greek originals being employed by their opponents.⁶⁶ Such a specialized variety of Syriac was not required, however, for translations of historical or devotional texts, which were thus produced in, more or less, standard literary Syriac—although even here there are inevitably some signs of influence, e.g. in the rather eccentric neologisms of the seventh-century writer (and translator) George, bishop of the Arabs, who took to greeting his correspondents (Lagarde 1858: 109) with *l-me?dâ* ('to rejoice', a calque of χαίρειν also found in the Harklean Gospels) instead of the normal Syriac *šlām* ('peace'), and also in the dramatic increase in the formation of adjectives from the seventh century on.⁶⁷

5. Conclusions

In late antique Syria and Mesopotamia the experience of Aramaic—Greek linguistic contact was almost universal, although there was considerable variation in the local circumstances. In north Syria (p.331) the local Aramaic dialects were widely spoken but rarely written down, whereas to the north (Edessa), to the east (Hatra, Palmyra, and Babylon), and to the south (Nabataea, as well as the Palestinian Jewish and Christian communities) there were well-established literary dialects of Aramaic. The ubiquity of Greek inscriptions in north Syria is a consequence of local diglossia that accorded Greek the status of an H variety and should not be interpreted as a reflection of the totality of the regional language system. Nor should the description of the local Aramaic dialects as L varieties be understood to mean that they were merely the unsophisticated patois of the peasants, or that they were in the process of language shift—let alone close to language death. They were simply not employed in the linguistic domain of inscriptions. Indeed, their prevalence and vitality can be observed in the interference detected not only in Greek texts but also in the few preserved inscriptions of the later literary challenger, Syriac.⁶⁸ Similarly, it would be a mistake to interpret either the use of Greek in inscriptions at Palmyra, or the development of a new hybrid form of Syriac in sixth- and seventh-century translation literature, as evidence for the cultural and linguistic dominance of Greek and the decline in prestige of Aramaic. In both cases it is clear that Aramaic was a flourishing and high-status language and that this gave its speakers the self-confidence to employ Greek for practical reasons in certain limited and specialized functions. Bilingualism for the citizens of Palmyra and for the members of the Syriac-speaking churches—indeed for the Syro-Mesopotamian population as a whole—was not a reflection of weakness but a source of strength that helped one to challenge the whole Roman Empire, the other to range across the whole known world, and all to prosper.

Notes:

(1) While some linguists (e.g. Romaine 1995: 12; Weinrcieh 1968) employ the term ‘bilingualism’ to refer not only to the regular use of two but also of multiple languages, others (e.g. Hamers and Blanc 1989) object to this, and refer to the latter as ‘multilingualism’.

(2) When first introduced by Ferguson (1972 [1959]: 232) ‘diglossia’ was employed to indicate the use of two variant forms of a single language in different contexts or ‘domains’, but it has since also come to be applied to situations in which different languages have a functional specialization (Fishman *et al.* 1986). In such situations one language is described as a ‘High’ or H, variety, and the other as a ‘Low’, or L, variety. There can be great variation in the number of H or L varieties in different societies—for an influential, though not unproblematic, study of stylistic variation in English see Joos 1962—but the are all usually marked by linguistic stability

(3) For a valuable collection of essays examining the impact of literacy in the ancient world see Bowman and Woolf (1994).

(4) For example, a fluent speaker of a language might have poor literacy, whereas standard texts or formulae may be accurately copied by an engraver with little or no knowledge of the language concerned.

(5) For a rare example of the application of this distinction to the analysis of ancient texts see Silva (1980).

(6) There are numerous Iranian loanwords in the various Aramaic dialects (cf. Lagarde 1866 for Syriac, and Cantineau 1935: 154 for Palmyrene Aramaic), as well as Aramaic and Greek loanwords (the latter transmitted via Syriac) in Persian (Nöldeke 1888–92: vol. ii).

(7) For the case of contacts between Aramaic speakers and the Creek- (and Cappadocian-)speaking Basil of Caesarea. see Taylor (1997). It is not unreasonable to suppose that there were also contacts between less august or well-educated individuals and communities.

(8) Two of the earliest Arabic inscriptions in the modern script are found at Zebed and Harran. and even the nanus of the ruling dynasty of Edessa are Arabic.

(9) Its Aramaic dialect, however, at least in its written form, seems to have survived until the 4th cent. (Starcky 1966).

(10) *Quaestiones in Librum Judictm* 19. The great 10th-cent. Syro-Arabic lexicon of Bar Bahlul, drawing, upon many earlier lexica, contains references to sixteen Aramaic dialects, though some of the names used may be synonyms (Duval 1888—ICJOI: vol. iii, pp. xxiv—xxv). These references are examined in Larsow (1841).

(11) Babylonian Talmud Erubin 53b (reprinted with emendations in Margolis 1910:
הווא בר גלילא דאמר להו: אמר למאן אמר למאן. אמרו ליה: גלילאה שוטה. חמר
למירכב או חמר למישתי. עמר למילבש או אימר לניכסא.

(12) Examples of east and west Syriac claims for the superiority of their respective dialects, as well as a passage in the Arabic Kitâb al-Fihrist stating the superiority of the literary Aramaic language over that of the villages, can be found in Larsow (1841) An examination of the (minimal) differences between the developed eastern and western traditions of literary Syriac can be found in Martin (1872).

(13) *De statuis ad populum Antiochenum*, 19 (PG 49. 188).

(14) Kelly (1875: 40) comments on this: ‘Since this latter alternative was scarcely compatible with Jerome’s temperament, we may conjecture that he picked up at least a smattering of Syriac’!

(15) 'Primary bilingual' are individuals who acquire bilingual skills as a consequence of their environment (usually during childhood), whereas 'secondary bilinguals' are those who learn a second language as part of their formal education.

(16) The Greek gospel harmony fragment from Dura Europos, since its discovery in the 1930s the major piece of evidence for a Greek original, has now been shown not to be a fragment of Tatian's work (Parker, Taylor, and Goodaere 1990).

(17) *phot. Bib.* 94 (75^b). It has also been argued by A. H. M. Jones (1940: 201) that the reference by the 2nd-cent. satirist Lucian, who came from Samosata in Commagene, north-east of Syria, and described himself as an Assyrian (*De dea Syr.* 1), to the fact that he grew up 'a barbarian in language' (*Bis accus.* 27) indicates that the humbler classes in Samosata spoke Aramaic. Millar (1993: 454–6) argues that it is simply a reference to coarse Greek.

(18) When preaching in Constantinople (in Greek), he apologized for being 'a country bumpkin, living among country bumpkins, where we mostly speak in Syriac' (the Syriac translation of the sermon is printed in Overbeck 1865: 230–44. here 241; ET from Brock 1994 b: 155).

(19) Comparison might be made, with all the usual caveats, to the linguistic situation of the Tur 'Abdin in modern south-east Turkey, where there are villages in which Neo-Aramaic, Kurdish, and Arabic are spoken—either in combination, or in isolation—and the state language is Turkish. The language skills of the inhabitants vary enormously over very small distances.

(20) e.g. *IGLS* iv 1372. Septimius Zeno of Stratonicea, Macedonia; *IGLS* iv. 1375, a centurion from Sabaria, now Stein-am-Anger; *IGLS* iv. 1364, 'Julia from the Tiber ... a stranger'; *IGLS* iv. 1356, Asterios of Dacia.

(21) Even in Christian inscriptions Aramaic names continue to be very common, even a few with clearly pagan origins, such as Μαθβαα (Aramaic 'amat bābay, 'handmaid of Babai'), found in an inscription of AD 384/5 from Ruwêhā (*IGLS* ii. 680).

(22) *IGLS* iv. 1409–10 (dated AD 324). The suggestion by Trombley (1994: 289, 296) that the name *Ἀβεδράψας* should be interpreted as the Aramaic *‘abed rubbâ*, ‘slave of the lord’ (i.e. ‘great one’), is quite implausible. Vattioni (1981: 52) has suggested that it should be related to the Hatran name *rpš’*, although this is not the name of a deity. It is tempting, therefore, to see preserved here in an unusual form the name of the ancient Syrian deity Resheph, who is attested in texts from Ebla, Alari, Ugarit, and Egypt, as well as in Phoenician (in which the personal name *‘bdršp* is to be found), Old Aramaic, and Palmyrene texts. Such a reading would require the psi to represent not the usual combination of sounds *ps* (or another labial plus *s*) but *sp*, as in some earlier Greek dialects. Until further evidence is produced that such transposition occurred in Syria at this period, this proposal must, of course, remain conjectural.

(23) Jalabert and Mouterde print this text, following Prentice (1908), but in their notes they propose the reading $\delta\omicron\rho\epsilon<\iota>|\sigma\nu\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$ (= $\delta\omega\rho\eta\sigma\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\nu$) and translate: ‘Seigneur, secourez Jean fils de Simeon qui aenricbi cesunetuaire. et Siméon fils de Jean’. While this is ingenious, I do not find it convincing. Prentice and the editors of *IGLS* are uneasy about the name $\Delta\omicron\rho\epsilon\lambda$, which is found only here in Greek inscriptions, but if it is simply the transliteration of a Safaitic name listed by Harding (1971) in the forms *ḡrl* and *ḡwrl*, then the difficulty disappears. Another possible example of word-play, in *IGLS* ii. 495, is cited by Trombley (1994) 264.

(24) Aramaic nouns do have an emphatic state, but its use does not correspond to that of the Greek article.

(25) As a caveat, it might be noticed that the occasional absence of the the definite article in the Greek versions of Latin *senatus amsulta* and of Augustus’ *Res Gestae* was attributed to interference from Latin until A. P. M. Meuwese (1920) argued that some of the absences could be paralleled in other Greek texts.

(26) This is not unknown in classical Greek, but is extremely rare. See LSJ s.v.

(27) It is almost certainly the same deity that is referred to in inscriptions from nearby Srir (Jarry 1967; no. 44; Callot and Mlarcillet-Jaubert 1984: 192–5). which mention a ‘Zeus Tourbarachos’, $\Delta\iota\tau\omicron\upsilon\rho\beta\alpha\rho\alpha\chi\omega$, for this cannot mean ‘of the blessed (Aramaic *brk*) rock (Aramaic *šwr*)’ (so Millar 1993: 254). since *šwr* is not an Aramaic but a Hebrew word, but rather means ‘of the blessed mountain [Aramaic *ṭwr*]’, i.e. Jebel Shêkh Berekât, the highest mountain in the region.

(28) The use of a Greek noun plus adjective to render two Aramaic (or Hebrew) nouns in a construct relationship is commonplace in translation literature.

(29) It might be noted that the correspondence $\gamma\acute{\iota}\nu\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ =Hebrew *‘śh*, or Aramaic *‘bd*, is already to be found in the Septuagint.

(30) So Littmann in Prentice (1908) 85. In Littmann (1934) 65 he changed the reading, incorrectly I believe, to 'sb, 'Eusebius'.

(31) The underlying Syriac would read *bryk dwvkrnn* (i.e. interpreting the first word as a participial adjective, not the Pa'el imperative suggested by both Littmann (1905: 54) and the editors of *IGLS* (whose 'votre mémnoire' should also be corrected to 'notre mténtoire').

(32) Or 'Rabbula (son of) Bassonis. C) Sergis, blessed be our memory'.

(33) The interrelationship of the two scripts is a fascinating question in this region. There are several Greek inscriptions in which the text has been written from right to left (e.g. *IGLS* ii. 386, 515, 564; iv. 1484), and in the local Syriac script the letters are often not connected but are engraved on their sides and placed one above the other in horizontal rows, so that the texts appear to read from left to right. Is this due to the influence of one script upon the other, or are other factors at work? A study of bilingualism and choice of script, particularly where more than one script is known to the bilingual individual, would make fascinating reading, and plentiful material could be found in Middle Eastern Christian texts, where, to name just a few examples, Arabic, Greek, Armenian, and Kurdish are all to be found written in Syriac script, and Turkish in Armenian script.

(34) I have corrected this inscription at several points. *IGLS* reads: 'r' [or 'd'] *rbwl' 'bd yt trwnws' dwkrnh q̄t lbwrkt'*, 'Ara Rab(b)oûla a fait ce trône. Que sa mémoire soit bénie à jamais'. I have corrected the first word because I think the second letter is simply a nun joined to the tipper right stroke of the aleph rather than, as usually in Syriac, to its base. The *yt* of the *IGLS* reading is a particle indicating the direct object. It is rare in classical Syriac texts and is already obsolete by the 4th cent. On the other hand, 'bdyt is intelligible as the first person singular perfect of the verb 'bd, and this orthography also occurs in Christian Palestinian Aramaic (Müller-Kessler 1991: 154). The word *q̄t* in this reading is peculiar. It is said to be the Arabic adverbial particle *qaṭu* or *qaṭṭu* (Wright 1896-8: i. 286), which in classical Arabic is always used with the perfect or jussive and a negative and has the sense 'never'. While this might be thought to represent a fascinating example of interference, it is far from clear that it makes any sense at all in this context. It is possible, as was suggested by Nöldeke (Littmann 1905: 48), that the supposed letters are in fact only a series of ornamental curves, but on the basis of a very indistinct photograph and line drawings (Baccache 1979-80: i. 359; ii. 143) I have redivided the words and offer the reading given above, *dwkrn hw'*

(35) Cf. Payne-Smith (1879–83) i. 38. interestingly, the west Syrians, and not the east Svrians, differentiate by vocalization between the 'armāyê ('pagans') and the 'ārāmāyê ('Aramaean'), presumably because, as the 12th-cent. polymath Bar Hebraeus puts it (Payne-Smith, loc. cit.), 'the 'ārāmāyê don't wish to be confused with the 'armāyê'

(36) In passim; it might be of interest to note the expression of linguistic preference by R. Jonathan of Bet Guvrin (Eleutheropolis), in 3rd-cent. Palestine: there are four tongues good for the work! to make use of: the foreign [=Greek] for song, the Roman for war, the Syrian [=Aramaic] for lamentation, and Hebrew for (daily) conversation' (j. Meg iv. 4):

ארבע לשונות נאה לעולם שישחמשי בהם לעז לומר דומי
לקרב סורסי לאילייא עברי לדיבור.

(37) I read 'lh' 'bd' 'drn 'God perform help for PN' (or, if vocalized differently, 'God the helper of PN') instead of 'h' '(l) kl 'drn 'God a(bove) all, help of PN' (IGLS). The reading I propose is an unusual construction in classical Syriac, but not totally without parallel.

(38) These are conveniently collected together in Millers and Cussini (1996) [=PAT], although the work contains numerous small errors and so should be used with some caution. This volume also prints the Greek and Latin texts of bilingual inscriptions, but does not include Palmyrene inscriptions originally engraved (or now preserved) only in these languages.

(39) As a crude measure, of a total of 652 dated Palmyrene texts listed in PAT, 158 are bilingual (the earliest of these dating from AD 17, the latest AD 271). To these must of course be added those which were originally engraved, or now survive, only in Greek and which are thus not listed in PAT.

(40) The lack of demand for inscriptions in Latin might be suggested by a Latin inscription of AD 183. commemorating the construction of a new parade ground for the garrison in Palmyra (Seyrig 1933: 164). which has extraordinary letter forms with highly unusual ligatures and which gives the strong impression of having been engraved by someone who was far more familiar with the contemporary Palmyrene Aramaic script than with Latin.

(41) Though arguably this could be an. internal Aramaic development from *rgl*, 'foot', as in Classical Hebrew *rgly* (*ragli*) footman, foot soldier'.

(42) e.g. PAT 0257, 0317, 0340–1, 1617–18, 1622, 1663–1734, 2764, 2800. In the Wadi Hauran in Iraq a bilingual Safaitic and Palmyrene inscription was found (PAT 2734), but this is well beyond the Palmyrene.

(43) Queen Zenobia famously had as a tutor and adviser the renowned Athenian rhetorician and philosopher Cassius Longinus, c.213–73. The comments on the linguistic skills of Zenobia and her sons contained in the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae* (Magie 1932: 135–41) are probably best ignored.

(44) I have produced 'An annotated index of dated Palmyrene Aramaic texts' as a tool for philologists and historians which provides a simple classification of the texts by type and indicates which inscriptions are bilingual (Taslor 2001).

(45) e.g. *PAT* 0315 (18 BC), 0261 (AD 21), 0193 (AD 90). 0302 (AD 162). 1381 (AD 211),

(46) For numerous plates, and detailed descriptions, of these funerary statues and reliefs see Ingholt (1928) and Colledge (1976).

(47) I know of only one funerary relief with Greek descriptions of the deceased (Colledge 1976: pl. 105), and its provenance is uncertain.

(48) Even in the mid- to late 2nd cent. AD, when there was a substantial rebuilding of much of Palmyra in the Greek style, monolingual Aramaic texts still heavily outnumbered Greek and bilingual inscriptions. Again, during the 570s of the Seleucid era, the period of Zenobia's revolt, there are 25 dated Palmyrene inscriptions, of which 10 are bilingual and 15 are written in Aramaic alone. This is only slightly higher than the corresponding proportions in previous decades.

(49) The exact meaning of *qlštr'* is uncertain, cf. Hoftijzer and Jongeling (1995) *ad loc.*

(50) Reading *w[špr lm]dyih* with Milik (1972: 10) against [*u-prns lmš*]ryth, '[he provided for] his [c]amp'. of earlier editions and *PAT*.

(51) The first Syriac authors from the west of the Euphrates, notably Balai of Chalcis/Qenneshrin and John the Solitary of Apamea, appear in the early 5th cent. (Brock 1994 *b*: 152).

(52) See now Healey (2000).

(53) For details of this manuscript and its orthography see Taylor (1999 *b*) vol. i, pp. xi-xvii, 183-95. I hope to publish a separate contextual study of its orthographs in the near future.

(54) The city's archives are referred to by Eusebius (*HE* 1. 13. 5), and presumably the necessary scribes were trained locally.

(55) The dominance of Syriac was such that it even had a significant impact on the vocabulary and morphology of the quite distinct Christian Palestinian Aramaic dialect. Cf. Müller-Kessler (1991).

(56) To be seen, for example, in the mosaic portraying Orpheus, who is identified in Syriac, charming birds and animals (Segal 1970: pl. 44).

(57) e.g. the letter of Mara bar Serapion (1st cent, AD); the 'Oration of Meliton the philosopher' (late 2nd/early 3rd cent.), and the 'Book of the laws of the Countries' produced by one of the disciples of Bardaisan (early 3rd cent.).

(58) Peeters (1950: 78) is of the opinion that such individuals never had Greek as their primary, domestic, language,

(59) Witness the impassioned, and ultimately futile, debate about the original language of the 2nd-cent. Odes of Solomon, summarized by Charlesworth (1998).

(60) No examples—perhaps unsurprisingly—are listed in the word index of Drijvers and Healey (1999).

(61) There is still much research needed in this area, since none of these works incorporates the evidence from the Old Testament Peshitta. or from the numerous works of authors such as Ephrem since edited in series like the CSCO, which usually include indexes of Greek loanwords.

(62) Words of Latin origin *ncarh* always appear to have entered Syriac *bn* way of Greek.

(63) For the retention, replacement, or augmentation of the original Greek nominal case endings of these nouns cf. Healey (1995); Drijvers and Healey (1999) 31.

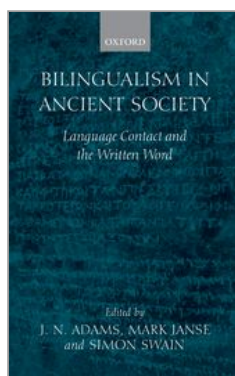
(64) The standard edition of the great 10th-cent. Syro-Arabic lexicon of Bar Bahlul has an index to the Greek borrowings listed that runs to 77 triple-column pages (Duval 1888-1901: iii. 1-77).

(65) Cf. Michael the Syrian (Chabot 1899-1910; iv. 446; ii. 471).

(66) This contrast in approaches is exactly paralleled in the Graeco-Roman world by the exact translations of legal texts emanating from Rome on the one hand and the *sensus de sensu* techniques of literary translations (Brock 1970: 71).

(67) Syriac is relatively poor in adjectives compared to Greek (Brock 1977 *b*: 84).

(68) Nor should it be forgotten, that distant descendants still survive in the Syrian villages of Ma'lūla, Baḥ 'a, and Jubb 'Adīn.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Aspects of Bilingualism in the History of the Greek Language

MARK JANSE

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter contrasts two historical Greek varieties from the perspective of language contact, one ancient and one modern. The two varieties are complete opposites in almost every respect. The ancient one is the Septuagint (LXX), the collection of Jewish writings mainly translated from the Hebrew (and in some cases Aramaic) Scriptures, which also includes some original Greek pieces. The modern variety is the Cappadocian Greek dialect which used to be spoken in central Asia Minor until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey following the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Hebrew interference in the LXX is due to a translation technique, typical of religious translations, which is at once calqued and word-for-word to produce a mimetic text. As a result, interference is almost limited to lexical and syntactic extension.

Keywords: interference, Greek, language contact, Septuagint, Cappadocian, Hebrew Scriptures, dialect

1. Language Contact in Antiquity

WHEN speakers of different languages meet there is language contact. If the contact is regular or prolonged, it will automatically produce a certain degree of bilingualism if the speakers of the different languages are to communicate with each other. Language is essential to communication, as God realized when the people of the whole world started building the tower of Babel (Gen. 11: 6):¹

(1)

There you have one people with one language for all, and they have **(p.333)** begun to do this, so now nothing will be impossible for them of all they plan to do.

In this monogenetic view of language the whole world was originally monolingual (Gen. II: I):

(2)

And the whole world had one language.

Whether or not *homo sapiens* once spoke one and the same language (sometimes referred to as 'Proto-World' or 'Mother

Tongue') is a question that need not detain us here. The fact is that most societies are multilingual: 'Nicht die Einsprachigkeit, sondern die Mehrsprachigkeit stellt den Normalfall dar, Einsprachigkeit ist eine kulturbedingte Grenzfall von Mehrsprachigkeit und Zwei-sprachigkeit eine Spielart der letzteren' (Lüdi 1996 a: 234). Already in antiquity language contact was an acknowledged fact. The earliest reference comes from Odysseus, who tells Penelope about the 'mixed languages' of Crete (*Od*, 19. 175 ff.):²

(3) ἅλλη δ' ἄλλων γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη ἐν μὲν Ἀχαιοί,
ἐν δ' Ἑτεόκρητες μεγαλήτορες ἐν Κύδωνες,
Δωριέες τε τριχάϊκες δίοι τε Πηλασγοί.

Every language is mixed with others; there live Achaeans,
there great-hearted native Cretans, there Cydonians,
and Dorians dwelling in threefold location, and noble Pelasgians.

In the so-called 'Old Oligarch' it is claimed that even the Athenians spoke a mixed language ([Xen.] *Ath.* 2. 8):

(4) φωνὴν πάσαν ἀκούοντες ἐξελέξαντο τοῦτο μὲν ἐκ τῆς, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ
τῆς. Καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνες ἰδία μάλλον καὶ φωνὴ καὶ δταίτη καὶ σχήματι
χρῶνται, Ἀθηναῖοι, δὲ κεκραμμένη ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ βαρβάρων.

הן עם אחד וישפה אחת לכלם ויהי הכלם לעשות ועתה לא יבצר מהם כל אשר יזמו לעשות.						
ἰδοὺ γένος ἓν καὶ χεῖλος ἓν πάντων, καὶ τοῦτο ἤρξαντο ποιῆσαι, καὶ νῦν οὐκ ἐκλείβει ἐξ αὐτῶν πάντα, ὅσα αὖν ἐπιθῶνται ποιεῖν.						
הן עם אחד וישפה אחת לכלם ויהי	הן	עם	אחד	וישפה	אחת	לכלם ויהי
hēn 'am 'ehād we-šāpā 'ahat lē-kullām we-zeḥ	hēn	'am	'ehād	we-šāpā	'ahat	lē-kullām we-zeḥ
ידוּ גֵנוֹס עֵן כַּאִי חַיְלוֹס עֵן פָּאֲנוֹן כַּאִי תוֹטוֹ	idōu	génos	ēn	kaí	cheilos	ēn pántōn kaí touto
הכלם לעשות ועתה לא יבצר מהם כל	הכלם	לעשות	ועתה	לא יבצר	מהם	כל
hahillām la-'āsōt we-'attā lō-yibbāzēr mē-hem kōl	hahillām	la-'āsōt	we-'attā	lō-yibbāzēr	mē-hem	kōl
הָרָאֲנוּ פוֹיֵשׂאִי כַּאִי נִינּוּ אוֹיֵק עֵלְאֵבֵי עֵז אֲוֹתָאֵן פָּאֲנָא	hārānau	poiēsai	kaí nūn	oúk	ēkleúbēi	ēz autōn pánta
אשר יזמו לעשות	אשר	יזמו	לעשות			
'āšer yāzēmū la-'āsōt	'āšer	yāzēmū	la-'āsōt			
אֲשֶׁר יִזְמוּ לַעֲשׂוֹת	āšer	ān	ēπιθῶνται	ποιεῖν		

ויהי כל־הארץ שפה אחת.					
καὶ ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἓν.					
ויהי כל־הארץ שפה אחת	ויהי	כל־הארץ	שפה	אחת	
wa-yēhī kol-hā-'āreṣ šāpā 'ehāt	wa-yēhī	kol-hā-'āreṣ	šāpā	'ehāt	
καὶ ἦν πᾶσα ἡ γῆ χεῖλος ἓν	καὶ ἦν	πᾶσα ἡ γῆ	χεῖλος	ἓν	

Hearing every kind of language, they have taken something from each; the Greeks individually rather use their own language, way of life, and type of dress, but the Athenians use a mixture from all the Greeks and non-Greeks.

(p.334) But what are we to make of such *γλῶσσαι μεμιγμέναι* and *φωναὶ κεκραμέναι*? In a sense all human languages are mixed, since borrowing is 'part of their cultural history' (Hoffer 1996-7: 546).³ The above quotations show that the ancient Greeks were quite aware of this. Socrates, for instance, when questioned by Hermogenes about the etymology of words of obscure origin like *πῦρ*, remarks (Plato *Cra.* 409E):

(5) *πολλὰ οἱ Ἕλληνες ὀνόματα ἄλλως τε καὶ οἱ ὑπὸ τοῖς βαρβάροις οἰκοῦντες παρὰ τῶν βαρβάρων εἰλήφασιν.*

The Greeks, especially those living among the barbarians, have taken many words from the barbarians.

Borrowing presupposes at least a minimum degree of bilingualism, a concept well known to the Greeks, as can be gathered from Galen's use of the terms *δίγλωττος* 'bilingual' and *πολύγλωττος* 'multilingual' (viii. 585). Plutarch uses *δίγλωττος* in the sense of *ἐρμηνεύς* 'interpreter, dragoman' (*Them.* 6). The Greek 'unwillingness to learn other languages' (Thomas 1996: 240) being almost proverbial, bilingual interpreters were indispensable whenever Greeks came into contact with non-Greeks.⁴ The fact that speakers of foreign languages were almost without exception categorized as *βάρβαροι* by the Greeks testifies to their assurance of cultural superiority.⁵ Unfortunately, the Greeks had very little to say about other languages, apart from calling them *φωναὶ βάρβαροι* or *γλῶσσαι βάρβαροι*.⁶

βάρβαρος and its derivatives were not only used to refer to speakers of foreign languages, but also to foreigners speaking bad Greek. *βαρβαρόφωνος* is a case in point. The term is applied to the Persians by Herodotus (8. 20; 9. 43) and to the Carians by Homer (*Il.* 2. 867). Strabo, commenting on Homer, insists that *βαρβαρόφωνος* and its derivative *βαρβαροφώνεω* originally meant 'speaking bad Greek' (14. 2. 28):

(6) καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐπὶ τῶν κακῶς ἐλληνιζόντων εἰώθαμεν λέγειν, οὐκ ἐπὶ τῶν **(p.335)** *καριστὶ λαλούντων οὕτως οὕτω καὶ τὸ βαρβαροφωνεῖω καὶ τοὺς βαρβαροφώνους δεκτέοντοὺς κακῶς ἐλληνίζοντας.*

For we are accustomed to say this of those who speak bad Greek, not those who speak Carian. So, therefore, the terms 'speak barbarously' and 'speaking barbarously' have to be interpreted as referring to those who speak bad Greek.

It is interesting to take a look at how the original Hebrew expressions are rendered. In fact the Hebrew text has only two such expressions: כבדִּי לְשׁוֹן *kibēdē lāšōn* and עֲמֻקֵּי שֵׁפֶף *‘imēqē šâpâ*. כבדִּי לְשׁוֹן *kibēdē lāšōn*, literally ‘heavy of tongue’, is at first translated as βάρύγλωσσος, which is a calque on the Hebrew phrase. In the second instance, it is translated as ἀλλόγλωσσος. The same translation technique underlies ἀλλόφωνος, which translates עֲמֻקֵּי שֵׁפֶף *‘imēqē šâpâ*, literally ‘deep of lip’, i.e. βαθύχειλος.⁷ Codex Vaticanus (B) reads βάρύγλωσσος, which would be calqued on עֲמֻקֵּי לְשׁוֹן *‘imēqē lāšōn*, literally ‘deep of tongue’, obviously a conflation of the two Hebrew phrases. The use of both ἀλλόγλωσσος and ἀλλόφωνος is remarkably free, comparable to Aquila’s use of ἑτερόγλωσσος translate נִלְעָג לְשׁוֹן *nil’ag lāšōn* ‘βάρύφωνος’ (Isa. 33: 19) and לֹעֵז *lō’ēz* ‘βάρβαρος’ (Ps. 113 (114): 1). Both נִלְעָג *nil’ag* and לֹעֵז *lō’ēz* are participles, of the verbs לָעַג *lā’ag* and לָעַז *lā’az* respectively. Both mean ‘barbarisch sprechen’ (Gesenius and Buhl 1915: 388 s.v.).⁸ In fact לָעַג *lā’ag* and לָעַז *lā’az* are both onomatopoes, probably imitating the sound of stuttering (as in Jewish Aramaic לִגְלִג *laglag* ‘stutter’). The similarity to βαρβαρίζω is obvious, so instead of ἑτερόγλωσσος Aquila might just as well have chosen βαρβαρόφωνος in the sense of ‘speaking a foreign language’.

The concept of βαρβαροφωνία in the sense of ‘foreigner talk’ (i.e. ‘speaking bad Greek’) is well known from Greek literature, but the available evidence has to be treated with all due reserve. For instance, the Scythian archer-police-slave from Aristophanes’ *Thesmophoriazusae* speaks a kind of literary foreigner talk, the main function of which is to ‘characterize foreignness’ (Clyne 1994: (p.337) 1274). It is used, in Strabo’s words, κατὰ τὸ λοῖδορον.⁹ There are, however, innumerable texts exhibiting ‘foreigner Greek’ which were never so intended: semi- or even subliterate letters on papyrus, public inscriptions, and even texts with literary pretensions.

Contemporary linguists have made every effort to understand the functioning of language contact and multilingualism, both psycho-and sociolinguistically (cf. Goebel *et al.* 1996–7 for an overview with extensive bibliographies). Traditionally, historical linguists have always been in the vanguard: ‘Language contact, together with social, political, and economic factors, has been a popular means of explaining grammatical change throughout history’ (Harris and Campbell 1995: 32). The idea of foreign influence as an explanatory device has at times been abused, especially in the case of so-called ‘substrate theories’ like the ‘Pelasgian’ hypothesis of Van Windekens (1960), but contemporary historical linguists have re-established language contact as a fundamental and bona fide factor in linguistic change.¹⁰

One of the major problems facing the historical linguist is the limitedness of the data, which is perforce written. Writing takes more time and more reflection than speaking. More importantly, many ancient text types are subject to specific stylistic conventions which hamper the application of modern theories, which are generally based on spoken language use in a particular sociolinguistic setting of which all the relevant details are or can be known. Ancient texts are often deprived of such contextual and situational information. In other words, it is often very difficult if at all possible to relate the βαρβαροφωνία of an ancient text to its actual sociohnguistic setting.

For this reason I have decided to contrast two historical Greek varieties from the perspective of language contact, one ancient and one modern. The two varieties are complete opposites in almost every respect. The ancient one is the Septuagint, the collection of Jewish writings mainly translated from the Hebrew (and in some cases Aramaic) Scriptures, which also includes some original Greek pieces. The modern variety is the Cappadocian Greek dialect which **(p.338)** used to be spoken in central Asia Minor until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey following the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. In the next sections a brief description of both varieties will be presented.

2. The Septuagint

According to the letter of Aristeas to Philoerates, Ptolemy II Phil-adelphus commissioned a translation of the Jewish 'Law' (Hebrew תורה *tôrâ*) to be included in the royal library on the initiative of Demetrius of Phaleron, who justified his request as follows (Aristeas 30):¹¹

(9) τοῦ νόμου τῶν Ἰουδαίων βιβλία σὺν ἐτέροις ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἀπολείπει
τυγχάνει γὰρ ἑβραϊκοῖς γράμμασι καὶ φωνῇ λεγόμενα, ἀμελέστερον δέ
καὶ οὐκ ὥς ὑπάρχει σεσήμανται, καθὼς ὑπὸ τῶν εἰδόντων
προσαναφέρεται.

The books of the Law of the Jews together with some few others are absent from the library; they are written in Hebrew characters and language and have been carelessly interpreted, and do not represent the original according to those who know.

The use of λέγω is somewhat odd in this context, as one would have expected γεγραμμένα instead of λεγόμενα (Aristeas 3).¹² The same verb is used in Ptolemy's letter to Eleazar, the high priest of Jerusalem (Aristeas 38):

(10) προηρήμεθα τὸν νόμον ὑμῶν μεθερμηνευθῆναι γράμμασιν ἑλληνικοῖς
ἐκ τῶν παρὰ ὑμῶν λεγομένων ἑβραϊκῶν γραμμάτων.

We have determined that your Law be translated in the Greek language from the Hebrew language which is used by you.

What are we to make of this? The Law was written in Hebrew, but this was not the kind of Hebrew the Jewish scholars would have spoken. Biblical Hebrew was a ‘compromise literary language’ (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 112), which was never actually spoken. It is now generally agreed that in the Second Temple period, i.e. after the return from the Babylonian exile (538 BC) until the destruction of the Temple by the Romans (AD 70), a very different kind of **(p.339)** Hebrew was used in Jerusalem and Judaea. When Alexander gained control over the Near East following the battle near Issus (333 BC), this variety of Hebrew became the language of instruction of the Pharisees and the rabbis, from which it took its name, viz. Rabbinic Hebrew.¹³ This fits in rather well with the following remark by Demetrius (Aristeas 11):

(11) ἑρμηνείας προσδεῖται χαρακτηῖρσι γὰρ ἰδίους κατὰ τὴν Ἰουδαίαν
χρῶνται, καθάπερ Αἰγύπτιοι τῇ τῶν γραμμάτων θέσει, καθό καὶ φωνὴν
ιδίαν ἔχουσιν. ὑπολαμβάνονται συριακῇ χρῆσθαι τὸ δ’ οὐκ ἔστιν, ἀλλ’
ἕτερος τρόπος.

It needs to be translated, for in the country of the Jews they use a peculiar alphabet, just as the Egyptians have a special form of letters, and speak a peculiar language. They are supposed to use Syriac, but this is not the case, it is quite different.

‘Syriac’ is not to be confused with the Edessan dialect of Aramaic of the same name which became the literary language of the Christian Church in the Near East.¹⁴ Geographical names and their derivatives were often confused in antiquity.¹⁵ Συριακή is here used in the sense of ‘Aramaic’ (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 2 n. 6), which became the language of the Galilean and Samaritan Jews and the Near Eastern lingua franca in the Second Temple period.¹⁶ Apparently, Demetrius knew that Aramaic was the most widely used language among the Palestinian Jews, but was unfamiliar with Biblical and Rabbinic Hebrew, even though he realized that both were related to one another and at the same time ‘quite different’ from Aramaic.

The story of Aristeas goes on to say that the Law was translated in seventy-two days by seventy-two Jewish scholars from Jerusalem (Aristeas 50, 307). The translators worked independently, but afterwards their translations were compared (Aristeas 302):

(12) οἱ δὲ ἐπετέλουν ἕκαστα σύμφωνα ποιοῦντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ταῖς
ἀντιβολαῖς. τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῆς συμφωνίας γινόμενονα πρεπόντως ἀναγραφῆς
οὕτως ἐτύγχανε παρὰ τοῦ Δημητρίου.

(p.340)

And they set to work, comparing their several results and making them agree, and whatever they agreed upon was suitably copied out under the direction of Demetrius.

In most ancient Greek manuscripts the translation is described as the version *κατὰ τοὺς ἑβδομήκοντα* 'according to the Seventy' (Swete 1914: 10), whence it has come to be known as *Septuaginta* (LXX). The historicity of the letter of Aristeas is seriously questioned, even though it may have a historical basis.¹⁷ Thackeray, for instance, takes the view that 'the Aristeas story may so far be credited that the Law or the greater part of it was translated *en bloc*, as a single undertaking in the third century B. C.' (1909: 13).¹⁸ Since the Law comprises the first five τεύχη 'books' (Aristeas 310) of the Hebrew Scriptures, Origen (c. AD 184–255) called this part of the LXX πεντάτευχος 'Pentateuch' (PG 14. 44).

The *raison d'être*, of the LXX, may well exceed Ptolemy's (and Demetrius') bibliophily. According to Josephus, Alexander the Great assigned a place to Jewish colonists in the newly founded Alexandria (332 BC), even admitting them to full citizenship (cf. Aristeas 36–7).¹⁹ This was the beginning of the διασπορά τῶν Ἑλλήνων or 'Greek dispersion' (John 7: 35). The term Ἕλληνας is used here in the sense of Ἑλληνιστής 'Greek-speaking Jew' (Acts 6: 1), for which it is sometimes substituted.²⁰ As a matter of fact, although the Ἑλληνισταί retained their religion and their loyalty to national institutions, they must have shifted to Greek fairly soon after their settlement. As Swete puts it: 'In Alexandria a knowledge of Greek was not a mere luxury but a necessity of common life. If it was not required by the State as a condition of citizenship, yet self-interest compelled the inhabitants of a Greek capital to acquire the language of the markets and the Court' (1914: 9). Swete estimates that 'a generation or two may have sufficed to accustom the Alexandrian Jews to the use of the Greek tongue' (ibid.). In fact it may have taken them even less.²¹ Contemporary research has shown that one generation suffices to shift from one language to another: 'Die Herkunftssprache ist häufig weder die am besten beherrschte noch die am meisten verwendete Sprache der Angehörigen von G2 [Generation 2]' (Lüdi 1996 b: 323). There was then an obvious need **(p.341)** for a translation of the Scriptures for all the Ἑλληνισταί who could not read the original Hebrew.²²

The letter of Aristeas suggests that the translation of the Pentateuch was carried out very carefully, since the seventy-two versions were all compared and harmonized. The result was not necessarily well received in antiquity.²³ Isidorus of Pelusium (d. C .AD 435) uses the terms βαρβαρόφωνος and βαρβαρίζω, both clearly in the sense of ‘speaking bad Greek’, to describe what pagan purists thought of the language of the Greek Scriptures (PG 78, 1080–1). Theodoret (C .AD 393–466) says that even Jewish names were ‘ridiculed’ as being βάρβαρος (PG 83. 945). His use of the verb κωμωδέω shows that βάρβαρος was definitely intended κατά τὸ λοῖδορον. The Church Fathers, however, tried to make a virtue of necessity. Basil of Caesarea (C .AD 330–79), for instance, concedes that the prophets conversed ἐκ τῆς βαρβάρων φωνῆς (PG 32, 1084). That he used βάρβαρος in the sense of ‘bad Greek’ is shown by what follows: τὰ παρ’ ἐκείνων φθεγγόμεθα, νοῦν ὃν μὴ ἀληθῆ, λέξιν δὲ ἀμαθῆ ‘we preach their words, true in spirit, but poor in style’ (ibid.). The message is clear: it is the νοῦς that counts, not the λέξις. Isidorus has the following explanation to offer (PG 78. 1124–5):

(13) διό καὶ τὴν θεῖαν αἰτιῶνται γραφὴν μὴ τῷ περιττῷ καὶ κεκαλλωπισμένῳ χρωμένῃ λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ τῷ ταπεινῷ καὶ πεζῷ... δι’ ὃ καὶ ἡ γραφὴ τὴν ἀλήθειαν πεζῷ λόγῳ ἡρμήνευσεν, ἵνα καὶ ἰδιῶται καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ παῖδες καὶ γυναῖκες μάθοιεν.

For this reason they blame the Holy Scripture for not making use of elaborate and ornamented language, but instead employing a lowly and pedestrian style ... so for this reason the Scripture expounds the truth in ordinary language, so that ordinary as well as wise men as well as children as well as women might understand.

The same line of reasoning can be found in Theodoret (PG 83. 1008–9), who elsewhere speaks of βαρβαρόφωνοι ἄνθρωποι τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν εὐγλωττίαν νενικηκότες ‘men speaking bad Greek who have (p.342) overcome the Greek eloquence’ (PG 83. 946). That βαρβαρόφωνος is here used in the sense of ‘speaking bad Greek’ follows from his use in the same sentence of the term σολοικισμός ‘solecism’, which is essentially synonymous with βαρβαρισμός.²⁴ However, it soon became evident that the βαρβαροφωνία of the Greek Scriptures was related to the ἀλλοφωνία, specifically the διγλωσσία, of its authors. Jerome (C .AD 345–419), for instance, emphasizes the fact that the Apostle Paul was *Hebraeus ex Hebraeis et qui esset in uernaculo sermone doctissimus* ‘a Hebrew from among the Hebrews and who was also very learned in the colloquial [sc. Greek] language’ (PL 26. 455).

This is not the place to discuss the ensuing controversy between the so-called ‘Hebraists’, who thought the Greek Scriptures were riddled with Hebraisms (or, generally, Semitisms), and the ‘purists’, who thought they approached the ideal of Classical Attic.²⁵ Suffice it to say that since Deissmann’s *Bibelstudien* (1895–7) the language of the Greek Scriptures is generally considered to be representative of the κοινή, i.e. of the Egyptian κοινή in the case of the LXX, specifically the Pentateuch (Swete 1914: 20), and of the Syro-Palestinian κοινή in the case of the New Testament.²⁶ It should be noted that in each case we are talking about written, not spoken, language, even though the use of expressions such as πεζὸς λόγος and *uernaculus sermo* suggest that already in antiquity it was felt to be closer to the colloquial than to the literary κοινή of the time.

The language of the Pentateuch is, perhaps somewhat surprisingly, qualified as ‘good κοινή Greek’ by Thackeray (1909: 13). He concedes that ‘the LXX, being a translation, has naturally a Semitic colouring’ (1909: 16). A similar statement is made by Moulton: ‘The LXX was in “translation Greek”, its syntax determined perpetually by that of the original Hebrew’ (1908: 2). But what exactly is translation Greek? Josephus wrote an Aramaic version of his *Jewish War* before translating it into Greek,²⁷ but no one has ever accused him of perpetrating translation Greek.²⁸ In fact, in **(p.343)** rendering Old Testament narratives in his *Jewish Antiquities*, Josephus has actually ‘rewritten each passage, has not only modified the vocabulary, but revolutionised the style’ (Swete 1914:299). Rife defines translation Greek as ‘the mechanical rendering of each single word in the order in which it occurs in the original’ (1933: 245). In modern translation studies this technique is termed ‘word-for-word translation’ (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier 1999: 200). In the LXX it sometimes produces what Thackeray calls ‘literal or unintelligent versions’ (1909: 13). Even though Thackeray qualifies the Pentateuch not as ‘literal’ but rather as ‘good κοινή Greek’, it is still unmistakably a word-for-word translation.

In fact, the LXX has become the classic example of this translation technique, which may be typical of religious translations in general.²⁹ The fact that the Hebrew Scriptures should have been allowed to be translated in the first place is not at all unremarkable, particularly in the case of the Pentateuch. For one thing, any translation risks distorting the original text, as the grandson of Ben Sira realized when he undertook the Greek translation of his grandfather’s book Qoheleth (*Sir. Prol.* 20 ff.):

(14) οὐ γὰρ ἰσοδυναμεῖ αὐτὰ ἐν ἑαυτοῖς ἑβραϊστὶ λεγόμενα καὶ ὅταν μεταχθῇ εἰς ἑτέραν γλῶσσαν. οὐ μόνον δὲ ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νόμος καὶ αἱ προφητεῖαι καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν βιβλίων οὐ μικρὰν εἰς χεὶρ τὴν διαφορὰν ἀνέανοτις λεγόμενα.

For that which is said in Hebrew in the original is not the same when it is converted into another language; and not just with this book, but also with the Law itself and the Prophets and the other books does it make no small difference when they are read in the original.

For another, the Jewish Law was sacrosanct. According to tradition, the Law that was given to Moses on Sinai by God consisted of the Oral Law and the Written Law (Exod. 21. 1 ff.). The latter was written on two stone tablets, the so-called πλάκες τοῦ μαρτυρίου ‘tablets of the testimony’ (לוחות העדות *lū?ōt hā’ēdūt* Exod. 31: 18) or πλάκες τηῆς διαθήκης ‘tablets of the covenant’ (לוחות הברית *lū?ōt habbērît*, Deut. 9: 9). The tablets were said to be written by God himself (Exod. 32: 16):³⁰

(15) וְהָיָה מִצֵּשֶׁה אֱלֹהִים הָמָּה וְהַמִּכְתָּב מִכְתָּב אֱלֹהִים הוּא קִרְיָת עַל-הַלְהֹט.

(p.344)

καὶ αἱ πλάκες ἔργον θεοῦ ἦσαν, καὶ ἡ γραφὴ γραφὴ θεοῦ ἐστίν, ἐκ κο-
λαμμένη ἐν ταῖς πλαξίν.

וְהָיָה	מִצֵּשֶׁה	אֱלֹהִים	הָמָּה	וְהַמִּכְתָּב	מִכְתָּב
<i>wē-hal-lūhōt</i>	<i>ma'āšē</i>	<i>'ēlōhīm</i>	<i>hēmā</i>	<i>wē-ham-miktāb</i>	<i>miktāb</i>
καὶ αἱ πλάκες	ἔργον	θεοῦ	ἦσαν	καὶ ἡ γραφὴ	γραφὴ
אֱלֹהִים	הוּא	קִרְיָת	עַל-הַלְהֹט		
<i>'ēlōhīm</i>	<i>hū</i>	<i>hārūt</i>	<i>'al-hal-lūhōt</i>		
θεοῦ	ἐστίν	κεκολαμμένη	ἐν ταῖς πλαξίν		

And the tablets were the work of God, and the writing was the writing of God, engraved on the tablets.

Surely, if the Law was written in God's own words, it should not be translated as a matter of principle.³¹ This explains why Eleazar thought Ptolemy's request was *παρὰ φύσιν* 'against the regular order of nature' (Aristeas 44). He nevertheless consented and even wished Ptolemy good luck: *γένηται σοι συμφερόντως καὶ μετὰ ἀσφαλείας ἡ τοῦ ἁγίου νόμου μετὰ γρηφή* 'may the translation of the Holy Law prove advantageous to you and successful' (Aristeas 45). And successful it was. After the translation was completed, Demetrius read it to the Jewish community, who thought it was ὁσιος 'hallowed, sanctioned by God' (Aristeas 310). Philo Judaeus (first century AD), a leading and highly influential exegete and expositor of the Pentateuch, relied altogether on the LXX, which he claimed had been divinely inspired (*Moys. 2. 37*).³² Major evidence of the sacred status of the LXX comes from the New Testament: 'alle neutestamentliche Schriften [gehen] mit ihren Schriftzitaten von der Septuaginta ... und nicht vom hebräischen Urtext [aus]' (Aland and Aland 1982: 61). An idea of the extent of these quotations can be gathered by looking at the list of *loci citati vel allegati ex Vetere Testamento* in recent editions of Nestle, Nestle, and Aland's *Novum Testamentum Graece* (appendix IV). It stands to reason to assume that the synagogue called Λιβερτίνων 'of the Freedmen' (Acts 6: 9), which included Alexandrian Jews, used the LXX, as did the *Ελληνισταί* to whom the New Testament epistles were addressed.³³ Finally, **(p.345)** it is worthy of note that copies of the LXX were found at Qumran.³⁴

According to the story of Aristeas, the translation was done *καλῶς καὶ ὁσίως ... καὶ κατὰ πᾶν ἀκριβῶς* 'excellently and sacredly ... and in every respect accurately' (Aristeas 310), as opposed to previous attempts, which were considered ἀμελέστερον 'less careful' (Aristeas 30) and ἐπισφαλέστερον 'rather dubious' (Aristeas 314). For a translation of the Scriptures to be ὁσιος, it would have to be as literal as possible, in accordance with the ἰσοδυναμία principle referred to in the prologue to *Siracides* quoted above (14). In other words, it would have to be a strongly source-oriented translation. One requirement would be that it be a mechanical or word-for-word translation as defined above, which would be in accordance with God's instruction to Moses not to change anything in the wording of the Law (Deut. 4: 2):

- לֹא תִסְפוּ עַל-הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוֶּה אֲתָכֶם וְלֹא תִגְרְעוּ מִמֶּנּוּ.
οὐ προσθήσετε πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα, ὃ ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι ὑμῖν, καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.
- | | | | | | |
|-----------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|
| לֹא | תִסְפוּ | עַל-הַדָּבָר | אֲשֶׁר | אֲנִי | מְצַוֶּה |
| <i>lô</i> | <i>tôsipû</i> | <i>'al-had-dābār</i> | <i>'āšer</i> | <i>'ānōkī</i> | <i>mēšaiwēh</i> |
| οὐ | προσθήσετε | πρὸς τὸ ῥῆμα | ὃ | ἐγὼ | ἐντέλλομαι |
| אֲתָכֶם | וְלֹא | תִגְרְעוּ | מִמֶּנּוּ | | |
| <i>'etē-kem</i> | <i>wē-lô</i> | <i>tigrē'û</i> | <i>mimmen-nû</i> | | |
- (16) ὑμῖν καὶ οὐκ ἀφελεῖτε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ

You. shall not add to the word which I command you, and you shall not subtract from it.

After the translation of the Pentateuch was read to the Jewish community and judged ‘excellent and sacred ... and in every respect accurate’, it was decided that it should remain οὕτως ἔχοντα ‘as it was’ (Aristeas 310). In similar words the Alexandrian Jews asked Demetrius to pronounce a curse (Aristeas 311):

(17) εἴ τ' διασκευάσει προστιθεὶς ἢ μεταφύων τι τὸ σύνολον τῶ
ν γεγραμμένων ἢ ποιοάμενος ἀφαίρεσιν.

If anyone should make any alteration either by adding anything or transposing in any way any of the words which had been written or making any omission.

(p.346) The use of μεταφύω suggests a word-for-word translation, which was adhered to as strictly as possible, as is shown by the superposition of the Hebrew and Greek versions in the passages quoted so far. Rife sums up ‘some of the commonest fixities of Semitic word-order’ (1933: 247): articles are never separated from their noun; adjectives, demonstratives, and genitives always follow their noun; direct, personal, pronominal objects always follow their governing verb. Rife also states that ‘the usual Hebrew prose order is VSO’ (1933: 250) and concludes that ‘All the LXX books with Massoretic texts showed their character plainly by this test’ (1933: 251). A quick glance at the passages quoted so far shows that VSO is regular if S and O are nominal, not if they are pronominal. It is only in this sense that VSO is, typologically, the basic Biblical Hebrew word order.³⁵

Another requirement for a literal translation would be that it be ‘calqued’. ‘Calqued translation’ is a technique whereby ‘the translator transfers the elements of the source text to the target text in such a way as to reproduce their semantic, etymological, and temporal aspects’ (Delisle, Lee-Jahnke, and Cormier 1999: 123). The last passage quoted (16) offers two instances of ‘calqued translation’, viz. προστίθημι πρὸς (לְ : yāsap ‘al) and ἀφαιρέομαι ἀπὸ (מִן : gāra’ min) used absolutely in a negative context.³⁶ An even more extreme case of calqued translation can be found in the first passage quoted (1), which is quite unidiomatic according to Classical Attic standards. Thackeray notes that ‘there are well-marked limits to the literalism of the Pentateuch translators’, but observes ‘a growing reverence for the letter of the Hebrew’ in the later books (1909: 30).

This is not the place to discuss every aspect of the translation technique of the LXX, for which the reader is referred to Brock, Frisch, and Jellicoe (1973), Tov (1982), Olofsson (1990), and Dogniez (1995). Three illustrative case studies will be discussed in Section 4.

(p.347) 3. Cappadocian

Cappadocian is a Modern Greek dialect cluster which was spoken in central Asia Minor until the population exchange between Greece and Turkey following the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923. Strabo, a native of Asia Minor, defines the geographical situation of Cappadocia as follows (12. 1. 1):

(18) οἱ δ' οὖν ὁμόγλωττοι μάλιστα εἰσιν οἱ ἀφοριζόμενοι πρὸς τὸν νότον μὲν τῷ Κιλικίῳ λεγομένῳ Ταύρῳ, πρὸς ἕω δὲ τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ, καὶ τῇ Κολχίδι καὶ τοῖς μεταξὺ ἑτεργλώττοις ἔθνεσι, πρὸς ἄρκτον δὲ τῷ Εὐξείνῳ μέχρι τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ἀλυοῦ, πρὸς δύσιν δὲ τε τῶν Παφλαγόνων ἔνει καὶ Γαλατῶν τῶν τὴν Φρυγίαν ἐποικησάντων μέχρι Λυκαόνων καὶ Κιλικίων τῶν τῆν τρηχέαν Κιλικίαν νεομίνων.

And the inhabitants who speak the same language are, generally speaking, those who are bounded on the south by the so-called Cilician Taurus, and on the east by Armenia and Colchis and by the intervening peoples who speak different languages, and on the north by the Euxine as far as the outlets of the Halys, and on the west both by the tribe of the Paphlagonians and by those Galatians who settled in Phrygia and extended as far as the Lycaonians and those Cilicians who occupy Cilicia Tracheia.

The term ἑτεργλόγλωττος suggests that Cappadocia was a multilingual region, which indeed it was. In the nineteenth century BC Assyrian traders founded colonies in Cappadocia, on which indigenous rulers from Kültepe and other principalities imposed levies.³⁷ However, the Assyrians were not the only ones to leave linguistic traces. The so-called 'Cappadocian tablets', Assyrian business letters from an archive excavated at Kaniš near Kültepe, contain many names which shed new light on the ethnic relations in Cappadocia in the middle Bronze Age (c.2000-1700 BC).³⁸ Among the non-Assyrian names we find indigenous Hatti and Hurrians as well as Luwians and Hittites.³⁹ The latter dominated Cappadocia from their capital Hattuša (Bogazköy) in the late Bronze Age (c. 1700-1200 bc).⁴⁰ After the fall of the Hittite empire (c.1000 BC), Cappadocia was invaded by Phrygians, Cimmerians, and Persians in turn.⁴¹

(p.348) After the Persian conquest, Cappadocia was divided into two satrapies, which became kingdoms under the Seleucids.⁴² the northern kingdom was named *Καππαδοκία πρὸς τῷ Πόντῳ* ‘Cappadocia Pontica’ or simply *Πόντος* ‘Pontus’, whereas the southern kingdom was named *Καππαδοκία πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ* ‘Cappadocia near Taurus’, *ἡ μεγάλη Καππαδοκία* ‘Magna Cappadocia’, or simply *Καππαδοκία* (Strabo 12. 1. 4), after the name of the former eighth Persian satrapy, *Katpatuka*, the etymology of which is unknown.⁴³ The ancestral name of the Cappadocian kings was Ariarathes, an Iranian name.⁴⁴ It originated with the Persian satrap Ariarathes I, who refused to submit to Alexander the Great and was killed by Perdiccas (c.322 BC). The first king of Cappadocia was Ariarathes III (c.255–220), who married Stratonice, daughter of Antiochus II (Strabo 12. 1.2). The Cappadocian kings were all philhellenes, as can be gathered from their adoption of Greek surnames, e.g. Ariarathes IV Eusebes (c.220–163), who married Antiochis, daughter of Antiochus III, and fought for Antiochus against Rome in the battle of Magnesia (190 BC). His son Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (c.163–130) was undoubtedly the most Hellenized of his family. In the words of the great Mommsen: ‘Durch ihn drang [die hellenische Bildung] ein in das bis dahin fast *barbarische* Kappadokien’ (1874: ii. 55—emphasis added).

It stands to reason to assume that the Hellenization of the indigenous population of Cappadocia was accelerated by the philhellenism of their kings,⁴⁵ and reinforced by the Roman annexation (AD 17), of which Strabo says (12. 4. 6):

(19) ἐ φ’ ᾧ ν ἤδη καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀποβεβλήκασιν οἱ πλεστοί.

Under their reign most of the peoples had already lost both their languages and their names.

Although Strabo is referring to Bithynia, his remark would have applied to all of Asia Minor, as emerges from Jerome’s observation *sermone graeco, quo omnis oriens loquitur* ‘the Greek language, which the entire East speaks’ (PL 26. 382). Thumb has this to say on the matter: ‘Von alien nichtgriechischen Ländern ist am gründlichsten **(p.349)** Kleinasien hellenisiert worden ... Die ungeheure Masse griechischer Inschriften, die auf dem ganzen Gebiet sich finden ... zeigt, dass Kleinasien mindestens in der römischen Kaiserzeit ein ganz griechisches Land mit griechischer Kultur gewesen ist’ (1901: 102–3).⁴⁶ However, Thumb’s observation needs some qualification: the Hellenization of Asia Minor proceeded at a slower rate in the rural areas than in the cities, which were formed after the Greek model.⁴⁷ The slower rate of the Hellenization of rural Asia Minor is reflected in the maintenance of a number of indigenous languages in the first centuries AD. A number of these are referred to in the story of the glossolalia of the Apostles, who began to ‘speak in tongues’, so everyone could hear them in their own language (Acts 2: 8 ff.):

(20) πῶς ἡμεῖς ἀκούομεν ἕκστος τῇ ἰδίᾳ διαλέτῳ ἡμῶν ἐν ᾗ ἐγεννήθημεν;
 Πάρθοι καὶ Μῆδοι καὶ Ἑλαμίται καὶ οἱ κατοικοῦντες τῆς
 Μεσοποταμίαν, Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν, Πόντον καὶ τῆς Ἀσίας,
 Φρυγίαν τε καὶ Παμφυλίαν, Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὰ μέρη τῆν Αἰβύης τῆς καὶ
 κατὰ Κυρήνην, καὶ οἱ ἐπιδημοῦντες Ῥωμαῖοι, Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ
 προσηλύτοι, Κῆτες καὶ Ἀραβες, ἀκούομεν λαλούντων αὐτῶν τας
 ἡμετέρας γλώσσας τὰ μεγαλεὰ τοῦ θεοῦ

How is that each of us hears them in his own native language? Parthians, Medes, and Elamites, and those who live in Mesopotamia, Judaea, and Cappadocia, Pontus and Asia, Phrygia and Pamphylia, Egypt and the parts of Libya near Cyrene, and Romans staying here, Jews and proselytes, Cretans and Arabs—we hear them declaring the miracles of God in our own tongues.

What is interesting about the ἔθνη ‘nations’ (Acts 2: 5) mentioned here is that most of them are known to be bilingual in the first century AD, speaking either Greek or Aramaic as a second language (as opposed to their ‘own *native* language’). Would Persian, Mesopotamian, Judaeans, and even Arabian (Nabataean?) Jews not be able to understand Galilean Jews speaking Aramaic?⁴⁸ And what of the ‘native languages’ of the Jews from Cyrene and Egypt and those from Asia’?⁴⁹ Would they not have spoken Greek? According to Clearchus of Soli (fourth-third centuries BC), a pupil of Aristotle, the latter said of Hyperochides, an Asia Minor Jew: ‘Ἑλληνικὸς ἦν οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ’ ‘he was a Greek, not only in his language, but in his spirit as well’ (Clearch. fr. 6).⁵⁰ Would **(p.350)** the Greek spoken in these regions have been very different from the Greek spoken in Palestine? Not to mention the Greek of the Cretans and Paniphylans, who may have spoken a distinct variety of Greek, but Greek nevertheless.⁵¹

And what about the other ἔθνη from Asia Minor: the Phrygians, Pontians, and Cappadocians? The Neo-Phrygian corpus from the first centuries AD comprises barely 114 inscriptions, 63 of which are bilingual (Brixhe 1999b: 292), which indicates that Phrygian was a language that was still in use, but under heavy Greek pressure.⁵² There is evidence, however, that Phrygian continued to be spoken until the fifth century. According to Socrates Scholasticus (fifth century AD), there was a Gothic bishop by the name of Selinas who lived in Asia Minor in the fifth century (PG 67. 648):

(21) Γότθος μὲν ἦν ἐκ πατρός, Φρύξ δὲ κατὰ μητέρα, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἀμφοτέραις τας διαλέκτοις ἐτίμως κατὰ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐδίδασκε.

He was Gothic from his father, but Phrygian through his mother, and because of this he taught readily in both languages in church.

From the expression *ἀμφοτ ἑραις ταῖς διαλεκτοῖς* it might be deduced that Selinas was bilingual. In fact, he may even have been trilingual. Sozomen (fifth century AD), apparently relying on Socrates,⁵³ omits the reference to Selinas' Phrygian mother, but instead mentions his ability to preach in both Gothic and Greek (PG 67. 1468):

(22) οὐ μόνον κατα τὴν πάτων αὐτῶν φωνήν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν Ἑλλήνων.

Not only in their native language, but also in that of the Greeks.

Vryonis (1971: 46–7), however, takes the view that Φρύξ in (21) is a geographical reference indicating that Selinas' mother was from the district of Phxygia, where the Goths had settled in the fourth century.⁵⁴ According to Vryonis, Selinas' ability to speak Greek indicates that the Phrygians had been Hellenized in their speech' (1971: 47). His conclusion is based on the fact that Phxygia was in later times called *Γατθογραικία*, not *Γατθοφρυγκία*, just as Galatia was called *Γατθογραικία* because 'at an earlier period the Celts had been similarly Hellenized' (ibid.). However, the name *Γατθογραικία* (Strabo 12. 5. 1) was given to Galatia because *Γαλατία* could be used **(p.351)** to refer to Gallia as well as Galatia.⁵⁵ It is quite conceivable that *Γατθογραικία* was used to distinguish the country of the Ostrogoths from that of the Visigoths. Whatever one chooses to make of all this, it is in any case indisputable that as late as the fifth century AD Gothic was still spoken in Asia Minor, as was Galatian according to Jerome (PL 26. 382).⁵⁶

The story of Selinas and the Neo-Phrygian corpus show that the Hellenization of the indigenous and exogenous peoples provoked widespread bilingualism and eventually language death in Asia Minor. Another example comes from a language which has already been mentioned, viz. Carian, an Anatolian language related to Hittite.⁵⁷ It will be recalled that Strabo uses the term *βαρβαρόφωνος* to refer to the 'bad Greek' of the Carians. He even considers Carian to be a mixed language: *πλεῖστα ἑλληνικὰ ὀνόματα ἔχει καταμεμιγμένα* 'it has very many Greek words mixed up with it' (14. 2. 28). The reason why the Greek of the Carians was considered bad was that it was infested with Carian: *τὸ βαρβαρόφωνον ἐπ' ἐκείνων πυκνὸν ἦν* 'the "barbarous element" in their language [sc. Greek] was strong' (ibid.). The verb *καρίζω* is therefore to be taken in the sense of 'speak Greek like a Carian' according to Strabo, just as *σολοικίζω* means 'speak Greek like a Solian' (ibid.). All this indicates widespread bilingualism among the Carians, an image which is confirmed by Thucydides' *Κὰρ δίγλωττος* 'bilingual Carian' (8. 85).

The fact that with the exception of Neo-Phrygian most languages have left very meagre, if any, remains at all testifies to the cultural superiority of the Greek language and civilization. The Galatian tribes and their leaders described by Strabo (12. 5. 1 ff.), for instance, all carry Celtic names, but the garrison of the Trocmi called *Ταούιον* 'Tavium' had a colossal bronze statue of Zeus (12. 5. 2).⁵⁸ And when Paul healed a lame man in Lystra, the people starting talking *λυκαοανιστί* 'Lycaonian', but they called Paul Hermes and Barnabas Zeus, whose temple was just outside the city (Acts 14: **(p.352)** II ff.). Lycaonian is another indigenous language to have survived until the sixth century AD.⁵⁹

The only indigenous language not discussed so far is the native language of Cappadocia mentioned in the passages quoted in (18) and (20). Cappadocian Jews are mentioned in Peter's first epistle, which is addressed to the *ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, Γαλατίας, Καππαδοκίας, Ἀσίας καὶ Βιθυνίας* 'elected strangers of the dispersion of Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia' (1 Pet. 1:1). The fact that the letter was written in Greek again testifies to the widespread bilingualism in Asia Minor. The use of *παρεπίδημος* '(für kurze Zeit) an einem fremden Ort weilend, sich als Fremdling aufhaltend' (Bauer, Aland, and Aland 1988: 1264) is inconsistent with the use of *κατοικέω* in the passage quoted in (20), where it was suggested that the Cappadocian Jews spoke their 'native language'. Unfortunately, we have no idea what the indigenous language of Cappadocia might have been like. That it must have been a foreign language from the Greek point of view can be inferred from some remarks made by the Cappadocian Church Fathers. Gregory of Nyssa (c.AD 330–95) has the following to say (PG 45. 1045):

(23) *ἡμεῖς οὐρανὸν τοῦτο λέγομεν, σαμαῖ μὲν ὁ Ἑβραῖος, ὁ Ῥωμαῖος κελοῦμ, καὶ ἄλλως ὁ Σύρος, ὁ Μηῆδος, ὁ Καππαδόκης, ὁ Μαυρούσιος, ὁ Σκύθης, ὁ Θράξ, ὁ Αἰγύπτιος.*

We call it heaven, *šamayim* the Hebrew, the Roman *caelum*, and still otherwise the Syrian, the Mede, the Cappadocian, the Moor, the Scythian, the Thracian, the Egyptian.

This statement seems to suggest that Cappadocian was both a living language in the fourth century and distinct from Greek. Intriguing confirmation seems to come from Basil of Caesarea. While discussing two different wordings of the Doxology, Basil notes that some say *σὺν Ἀγίῳ Πνεύματι Θεοῦ* 'with God's Holy Spirit' (PG 32. 204), others *καὶ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα Θεοῦ* 'and God's Holy Spirit' (PG 32. 205). He goes on to say that the use of *καί* instead of *σύν* would be natural in languages other than Greek and refers to 'a certain Mesopotamian' (PG 32. 208):

(24) ὥς δὲ ἐγὼ τινος τῶν Μεσοποταμίας ἤκουσα, ἀνδρὸς καὶ τῆς
γλώσσης ἐμπείρως ἔχοντος, καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου τὴν γνώσιν, οὐδὲ δυνατόν
ἐτέρως εἰπεῖν (p.353) τῇ ἐγχωρίῳ φωνῇ, κἂν ἐθέλωσιν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς
καὶ σνλλαβῆς, μᾶλλον δὲ τῶν ἰσοδυναμουσῶν αὐτῇ φωνῶν, κατὰ τὴν
ἰδίωμα πάτριον, ἀνάγκον αὐτοῖς εἶναι τὴν δοξολογίαν προφέρειν.

I have heard from a certain Mesopotamian, a man at once well skilled in the language and of unperturbed opinion, that by the usage of his country it is impossible, even if they wanted it, to express themselves in any other way, and that they are compelled by the idiom of their native language to offer the Doxology by the syllable 'and' or, I should more accurately say, by their equivalent expressions.

The digression is concluded with the following statement (ibid.):

(25) καὶ Καππαδόκαι δὲ ὍΥΤΩ λέγομεν ἐγχωρίως.

We Cappadocians, too, speak like that in our native language.

According to the apparatus criticus of Migne's edition, two scholiasts observe that by τινος τῶν Μεσοποταμίας Basil is referring to Ephraem Syrus (c.AD 307–73). Ephraem was indeed born at Nisi-bis in Mesopotamia, a city with a mixed population of Aramaeans, Arabs, Greeks, and Persians. After Jovian's surrender of the city to the Persians (AD 363), he was forced to move to Edessa, the cradle of the Syriac dialect of Aramaic, as already remarked apropos of (11), whence his surname Σύρος 'the Syrian'. As has already been observed, geographical names and their derivatives were often confused in antiquity. Herodotus uses the name Σύροι (Σύριοι) to refer to Assyrians (7. 63) as well as Syrians (2. 30, 104, 159; 3. 5). To complicate matters even more, the same name is used to refer to the Cappadocians. In fact, he says that the Cappadocians are called Σύροι by the Greeks, but Καππαδόκαι by the Persians (1. 72; 7. 72), and hence he refers to them as Σύροι Καππαδόκαι 'Cappadocian Syrians' (1. 72).⁶⁰ Strabo, commenting on Herodotus, says Σύριους λέγοντα τοὺς Καππαδόκας 'by Syrians he means the Cappadocians' (12. 3. 9).⁶¹ Strabo's explanation may not be sufficient, but is nevertheless interesting (ibid.):

(26) καὶ γὰρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν Λευκόσυροι καλοῦνται, Σύρων καὶ τῶν ἐξω τοῦ
Ταύρου λεγομένων κατὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς ἐντὸς τοῦ Ταύρου σύγκρισιν,
ἐκείνων (p.354) ἐπικεκαυμένων τὴν χροάν, τούτων δὲ μή, τοιαύτην τὴν
ἐπωνυμίαν γενέσθαι συνέβη.

And in fact they are still today called 'White Syrians', while those outside the Taurus are called 'Syrians'; because those outside the Taurus, as compared with those this side of the Taurus, have a tanned complexion, while those this side do not, this appellation came into being.

What are we to make of all this? The fact that Assyrians and Syrians are confused is not surprising. The Aramaeans made their first historical appearance in the twelfth century BC in the Har-ran area 'outside the Taurus', and from there they spread over Mesopotamia and Syria,⁶² Aramaic became the lingua franca in the late Assyrian and Persian periods, as evidenced by the numerous inscriptions found in Asia Minor, Egypt, and India, where it was never native.⁶³ Given the connection between Cappadocian and Syriac, as suggested by Basil in (24) and (25), could it be that the former was related to the latter and, in other words, an Aramaic dialect? This is not very likely in view of the fact that none of the Cappadocian Church Fathers seems to be familiar with the Aramaic תרגומים *targûmîm* 'interpretations' of the Hebrew Scriptures or with Aramaic in general. Quotation (23), for instance, seems to suggest that Gregory of Nyssa did not know that the Hebrew word for 'heaven', שמים *šamayim*, was very similar to its Aramaic equivalent שמיא *šmayyâ*. And there are no traces of Aramaisms in the Greek inscriptions from Cappadocia or in the modern Cappadocian Greek dialect.⁶⁴

Could it have been an Indo-European language? This is not unlikely in view of the fact that Cappadocia used to be Hittite territory in the late Bronze Age and in view of the proximity of many other Anatolian languages, such as Lycian, Pisidian, and Sidetic.⁶⁵ More importantly, the Hittites conquered and dominated Syria after the establishment of the authority of Hattuša, whence the חתים *hittîm* 'Hittites' are frequently mentioned among the pre-exilic Canaanite peoples in the Law.⁶⁶ In Akkadian sources, *mât Ḫatti* 'land of the Hittites' is used to refer to either Cappadocia (Old and (p.355) Middle Babylonian) or Syria (Neo-Babylonian).⁶⁷ It should come as no surprise, then, that Σύριοι could be used for both Aramaean and Hittite (Cappadocian) Syrians. This would also explain Strabo's distinction between Σύριοι and Λευκόσυριοι quoted above. However, to equate Cappadocian with Hittite (or another Anatolian language) would be nothing more than a speculative guess.

Finally, there is Jerome's explanation of the Biblical מֶשֶׁכֶךְ *mešck*, LXX Μόσοχ, son of Japheth (Gen. 10: 2), eponym of the so-called 'Japhetic' languages (Gen. 10: 5), including Iranian, Greek, and Latin:⁶⁸ *Mosoch Cappadoces, unde et urbs usque hodie apud eos Mazaca dicitur* 'the "Mosoch" are the Cappadoeians, whence there is a city which is still today called Mazaca' (CCSL 72. 14 Lagarde). Now Μάζακα is an Iranian name derived from *maz- 'great',⁶⁹ which was given to the city later called Καισάρεια. It was created by the Cappadocian kings to be their capital and called Εὐσέβεια by Ariarathes V Eusebes Philopator (Strabo 12. 2. 7). The name was changed to Caesarea by the last Cappadocian king, Archelaus, after whose death (AD 17) it became the capital of the procuratorial province of Cappadocia.⁷⁰ Given the philhellenism of the Cappadocian kings, it seems unlikely that Cappadocian would have been an Iranian language. In fact, Aramaic became the lingua franca in Asia Minor following the victory of Cyrus over Croesus (546 BC), as evidenced not only by official but also by private inscriptions.⁷¹ The only thing we do in fact know about Cappadocian is that Strabo says it was related to 'Cataonian' (12. 1. 2), yet another mysterious language.

We know, however, that the Cappadoeians were considered βαρ-βαρόφωνοι in antiquity. Judging from the following distich attributed to Lucian (second century AD), it would appear that Cappadocian βαρβαροφωνία was proverbial (AP 11. 436):

(27) θᾶπτον ἔην λευκοὺς κόρακας πτηνὰς τε χελώνας εὐρεῖν ἢ δόκιμον
ρήτορα Καππαδόκην.

(p.356)

It was easier to find white ravens or winged turtles than a decent Cappadocian orator.

Flavins Philostratus (second-third centuries AD) is even more explicit in his description of the Cappadocian accent of Pausanias of Caesarea (second century AD), a student of Herodes Atticus (VS 2, 13):

(28) ἀπήγγειλε παχείᾳ τῇ γλώττῃ καὶ ὡς Καππαδόκαις ξύνηθε,
ξυγκρούων μὲν τὰ ξύμφωνά τ' ὦν στοιχείων, συστέλλων δὲ τὰ
μηκυνόμενα καὶ μηκύνων τὰ βραχέα.

He delivered his declamations with a heavy accent, as is the way with Cappadocians, making his consonants collide, shortening the long syllables, and lengthening the short ones.

Allusion to the distinctive accent of the Cappadocians is also made by Gregory of Nazianzus (AD 329–89) in his speech to the conceited clergy of Constantinople (PG 36. 224):

(29) ἀπαιδευσίαν δὲ οὐκ ἐγκαλέσεις ἢ ὅτι τραχύ σοι δοκῶ καὶ ἄγροικον
φθέγ- γεσθαι;

Will you reproach me for want of education or because I seem to speak in a harsh and peasant fashion?

That the Cappadocian accent was indeed notorious also emerges from Philostratus' description of Apollonius of Tyana (first century AD), who apparently was able to speak Greek without any accent (VA 1.7):

(30) ἡ γλῶττα Ἀττικῶς εἶχεν, οὐδ' ἀπήχθη τὴν φωνὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἔθνους,

His tongue affected Attic, nor was his accent corrupted by his race.'

From both accounts it can be inferred that the most conspicuous feature of Cappadocian Greek was its accent, owing to transfer of phonetic and phonological features from the indigenous Cappadocian substrate. Phonetic and phonological interference from the indigenous languages is in fact amply attested in Asia Minor Greek.⁷² Evidence of grammatical and lexical interference seems to be lacking altogether.⁷³

When exactly the indigenous languages of Asia Minor died we do not know. Vryonis takes the view that 'by the sixth century **(p.357)** the Greek language had triumphed over the various indigenous tongues of western and central Anatolia (to the regions of Cap-padocia)' (1971: 48). Some think that Phrygian may have survived until the Arab invasions in the seventh century or even the Seljuk invasions in the eleventh.⁷⁴ However, in the easternmost parts of Asia Minor a number of non-indigenous languages coexisted with Greek. The most important of these were Armenian, Syriac, Kurdish, Georgian, and Arabic, the latter gaining a stronger foothold during the Arab invasions from the seventh to the ninth century.⁷⁵ The only language to have left some traces in Cappadocian Greek is Armenian.⁷⁶

The Seljuk invasions from the eleventh century onwards, on the other hand, were to have a dramatic impact on both the use and the form of Cappadocian Greek (henceforth: Cappadocian). Even before the Byzantine defeat at Manzikert (1071) the Seljuks had raided important parts of Cappadocia, including Caesarea, which was plundered, burnt, and destroyed.⁷⁷ Cappadocia was thus cut off from the rest of the Greek-speaking world long before the fall of Constantinople (1453), which put an end to the Byzantine Empire. Turkish being the language of the conquerors, it assumed the role played by Greek for centuries and centuries. Already in the fifteenth century there is evidence of language shift, even in church, as is shown by the following document from 1437:⁷⁸

(31) notandum est, quod in multis partibus Turcie reperiuntur clerici, episcopi et arciepiscopi, qui portant uestimenta infidelium et locuntur linguam ipsorum et nihil aliud seiunt in Greco proferre nisi missam cantare et euangelium et epistolas. alias autem orationes dicunt in lingua Turcorum.

It should be noted that in many parts of Turkey clerics, bishops, and archbishops are found who wear the clothes of the infidels and speak their language, and are unable to express anything in Greek apart from singing the Mass and quoting the Gospel and Epistles, Other speeches, however, they deliver in the language of the Turks.

Put differently, Greek had already disappeared in some parts of Asia Minor in the fifteenth century. Around 1910, when Dawkins conducted his fieldwork, Cappadocian was threatened with complete extinction: 'Turkish ..., as the language of the rulers and of **(p.358)** an increasing proportion of the population, threatens to crush it altogether' (1916: 1). In those parts where it did survive, it developed 'under the strongest influence of the surrounding Turkish' (ibid.). Dawkins' description of Ferteke (*Βαρτάκαινα Vartákēna* in the local dialect) illustrates this state of affairs quite vividly (1916: 14 ff.). The population of the village was estimated at about 2,700 Greek-speaking Christians and 300 Turkish-speaking Muslims by 1900. Hardly ten years later, the ratio was 1,100 to 2,000 and another ten years later 430 to 2,500. A detailed and illuminating account of the sociolinguistic situation is given by Dawkins (1916: 14-15):

(32) The men ... amongst themselves generally talk Turkish, although they as a rule know common Greek. They also understand the local dialect, although they do not talk it very freely. The use of the dialect is thus almost confined to the women and children, and as Turkish women often come to the Greek houses to help in housework, the women also are apt to acquire the habit of talking Turkish amongst themselves as well as to their husbands, which materially helps the decline of the dialect. Ferteke in fact will, I believe, become entirely Turkophone, unless its schools save a small remnant to talk the common Greek.

Fertek is thus the perfect illustration of 'diglossic bilingualism' (Blanc 1994: 355), with three varieties being used by different people on different occasions and for different purposes. In villages with full 'societal bilingualism' (Blanc 1994: 354), where Turkish could be used by all the inhabitants on any occasion, Cappado-cian was even more endangered. Such is the case of Ulağaç, where Dawkins 'even heard women talking Turkish to their children, a sure sign of the approaching extinction of the Greek dialect' (1916: 18),⁷⁹ As a result Turkish interference in Cappadocian was so pervasive, especially in the fully bilingual villages, that Dawkins concluded that 'the Turkish has replaced the Greek spirit; the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish' (1916: 198). **(p. 359)** The impact of Turkish on Cappadocian will become clear in the next section.

4. Three Case Studies

In the following case studies the Greek varieties of the LXX and Cappadocian will be contrasted to illustrate the differences between two opposites. The LXX is both a word-for-word and a calqued translation of a sacred text written in a foreign (dead) language into the newly acquired language of the translators. The aim of the translators was not to re-create freely the content of the Hebrew Scriptures, but to reproduce both content and form as faithfully as possible so as not to go against God's commandment quoted in (15). The language of the LXX cannot therefore be assessed exclusively in linguistic terms, since it reflects a conscious translation technique characteristic of religious translation in general. The language of the LXX is, in other words, a hybrid in the sense that it does not and indeed cannot reflect the spoken or even written *κοινή* of its time in every respect, even though it makes use of its lexical and grammatical resources. In order to do this, the translators deliberately stretched their linguistic resources to produce a 'mimetic' text. A distinctive feature of such a translation technique is 'extension', a technical term defined by Harris and Campbell as 'change in the surface manifestation of a pattern that does not involve immediate or intrinsic modification of underlying structure' (1995: 97). Moul-ton, referring to the same phenomenon without actually using the term, put it this way: 'the ordinary Greek speech or writing of men whose native language was Semitic ... brought into prominence locutions, correct enough as Greek, but which would have remained in comparatively rare use but for the accident of their answering to Hebrew or Aramaic phrases' (1908: 11). Thackeray speaks of the 'over-working' and 'accumulation of a number of just tolerable Greek phrases, which nearly correspond to what is normal and idiomatic in Hebrew' (1909: 29).

In Cappadocian, on the other hand, interference is not conscious, but the result of language maintenance under strong cultural pressure and long-term bilingualism.⁸⁰ Interference has here taken the form of ‘heavy borrowing’, a technical term introduced by Thomason (**p.360**) and Kaufman, which includes ‘much lexical borrowing’ and ‘heavy structural borrowing, especially in phonology and syntax’ (1988: so).⁸¹ Unlike the LXX, Cappadocian was a spoken language, not a language written for a special purpose. The result is nevertheless something of a hybrid. In the words of Kontosopoulos: *όποιος ακούει ... την καππαδοκική διάλεκτο, δεν ξέρει αν έχει να κάνει με τουρκικά σε ελληνικό στόμα ή με ελληνικό σε στόμα τούρκικο* ‘whoever hears ... the Cappadocian dialect does not know whether he has to do with Turkish spoken by a Greek or with Greek spoken by a Turk’ (1994: 7).

Cappadocian is indeed a hybrid in that it is a truly mixed language. This does not imply that the Cappadocian (oral) texts recorded by Dawkins exhibit ‘code-switching’, defined by Heller and Pfaff as ‘the use of more than one linguistic variety, by a single speaker in the course of a single conversation’ (1996: 594). Inevitably, code-switching must have occurred in everyday conversation in Cappadocia, e.g. between men and women or women and children in villages with diglossic bilingualism like Ferteke or Ulağaç discussed above. Yet Cappadocian itself retained enough Greek to count as a Greek dialect and it was felt as such by its speakers. A Cappadocian who encountered Cretan Muslims noted that they spoke the ‘same’ language as he: *μιλούσαν ελληνικά, καλά ελληνικά, κι εμείς μιλούσαμε ελληνικά, αλλά δεν τους καταλαβαίναμε* ‘they spoke Greek, good Greek, and we spoke Greek as well, but we did not understand them’ (Chinitzidis 1983 [1959]: 25).⁸² Both Cappadocians and Cretans may have thought of each other as *βαρβαρόφωνοι*, speakers of ‘bad’ Greek, but Greek nevertheless.⁸³ Code-switching is not the appropriate term here, because the Cappadocians did not use Turkish and Greek alternately. They borrowed heavily from Turkish, but the Turkish borrowings were fully integrated with (**p.361**) their Greek. A more appropriate term would be ‘code-mixing’,⁸⁴ especially in the case of the most heavily influenced subdialects such as that of Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 209), which in the words of Thomason and Kaufman would be ‘over the border of nongenetic development’ (1988: 94).⁸⁵

The difference between Hebrew interference in the LXX and Turkish interference in Cappadocian will become obvious in the following case studies. They are intended to be illustrative of the difference between conscious interference in religious translation and unconscious interference in language maintenance under strong cultural pressure and long-term bilingualism. It should once again be noted, however, that whereas the two types may be contrasted as being complete opposites, they cannot be properly compared.

4.1. Relatives

Hebrew relative clauses (RCs) resemble their Greek counterparts typologically in that both languages make use of a relative marker and a finite clause. Unlike the Greek relative pronoun, however, the Hebrew relative marker **אֲשֶׁר** 'āšer is indeclinable and as such comparable to Modern Greek *που*.⁸⁶ Since **אֲשֶׁר** 'āšer cannot express any syntactic function or relation, the latter is often expressed by a so-called 'resumptive' pronoun in the RC.⁸⁷ In Greek there is, strictly speaking, no need for such a resumptive pronoun, the syntactic function of the latter being expressed by the relative pronoun. Where it does occur it is generally called, for obvious reasons, 'pleonastic'.⁸⁸ Bakker, who has written a monograph-length study on the subject, calls it *pronomen abundans*, defined as 'a personal or demonstrative pronoun which repeats the relative pronoun in a single-limbed relative clause' (1974: 9). Bakker (1974: 11 ff.) has collected a few scattered examples in Ancient Greek, but according to Thackeray 'The pleonastic ... pronoun appended to a relative pronoun or a relative adverb... is found in all parts of the LXX and **(p.362)** undoubtedly owes its *frequency* to the Hebrew original' (1909:46).⁸⁹ Examples (8) and (33) illustrate the phenomenon (Gen, 28: 13):

- הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ לְךָ אֶתְנֶנָּה.
 ἡ γῆ, ἐφ' ἧς σὺ καθεύδεις ἐπ' αὐτῆς, σοὶ δώσω αὐτήν.
 הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר אַתָּה שֹׁכֵב עָלֶיהָ לְךָ
 hā-'āreṣ 'āšer 'attā šōkēb 'ālê-hā lē-kā
 ἡ γῆ ἐφ' ἧς σὺ καθεύδεις ἐπ' αὐτῆς σοὶ
 אֶתְנֶנָּה
 'ettēnen-nā
 (33) δώσω αὐτήν

The land on which you are lying I will give (it) to you.

It is clear why (ἐπ') αὐτῆς, which simply copies the syntactic function of (ἐφ') ἧς, is considered pleonastic, unlike **עָלֶיהָ** 'ālê-hā, which is, in the words of Bakker, 'not redundant, but necessary' (1974: 36). This example is again a clear illustration of the translation technique of the LXX, which is at once word-for-word and calqued. The same applies to the following (Lev. 15: 26):

- כָּל-הַמִּשְׁכָּב אֲשֶׁר-תִּשְׁכַּב עָלָיו ... וְכָל-הַקְּלִי אֲשֶׁר תִּשָּׁב עָלָיו.
 πᾶσαν κοίτην, ἐφ' ἧν ἂν κοιμηθῇ ἐπ' αὐτῆς . . . καὶ πᾶν σκεῦος, ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν
 καθίστη ἐπ' αὐτό.
 כָּל- הַמִּשְׁכָּב אֲשֶׁר- תִּשְׁכַּב עָלָיו ... וְכָל-
 kol- ham-miškāb 'āšer- tiškab 'ālāw . . . wē-kol-
 πᾶσαν κοίτην ἐφ' ἧν ἂν κοιμηθῇ ἐπ' αὐτῆς . . . καὶ πᾶν
 הַקְּלִי אֲשֶׁר תִּשָּׁב עָלָיו
 hak-kēlī 'āšer tēšēb 'ālāw
 (34) σκεῦος ἐφ' ᾧ ἂν καθίστη ἐπ' αὐτό

Any bed she lies on (it) ... and any thing she sits on (it).

In the next example (Lev. 11: 32) the indeclinable **אֲשֶׁר** 'āšer is even rendered by ὅ, a 'fossilized neutral form ... absolutely unique ... in Greek' (Bakker 1974: 34):

כָּל־כְּלִי אֲשֶׁר־יַעֲשֶׂה מֶלֶאכָה בָּהֶם בְּמִים יוּכָא.
 πάν σκεύος, ὃ ἐὰν ποιηθῇ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰς ὕδωρ βαφήσεται.
 כָּל־ כְּלִי אֲשֶׁר־ יַעֲשֶׂה מֶלֶאכָה בָּהֶם
 kol- kēlī 'āšer- yē' āśēh mēlākā bā-hem
 (35) πάν σκεύος ὃ ἐὰν ποιηθῇ ἔργον ἐν αὐτῷ
 בְּמִים יוּכָא
 bam-mayim yūbā
 εἰς ὕδωρ βαφήσεται

(p.363)

Every thing, whatever use there is in it, shall be put in water.

The phenomenon is not restricted to translation Greek, but attested in 'original Greek' (Thackeray 1909: 46) as well (2 Macc. 12:27):

(36) ἐπεστράτευσεν καὶ ἐπὶ Ἐφρών πόλιν ὀχυράν, ἐν ᾗ κατώκει
 πάμφυλα αὐτῇ πλήθη.

He also marched upon Efron, a strong city, where many nations lived (in it).

In the Greek New Testament the pleonastic pronoun can also be found. Turner calls it a 'Semitism', but notes that 'non-Biblical Greek, and indeed many languages reveal the same phenomenon' (Moulton and Turner 1963: 325).⁹⁰ A particularly telling example is the following (Matt. 10: 11D)

(37) ἡ πόλις εἰς εἰσέλθητε εἰς αὐτήν, ἐξετάσατε τίς ἐν αὐτῇ ἄξιός ἐστιν.

Whatever city (in which) you enter (in it), find out who is worthy in it.

Since the phenomenon is not restricted to Biblical Greek, Bakker takes the view that the use of the pleonastic pronoun is not a Semitism *per se* (1974: 33 ff.). He concludes that the presence or absence of a pleonastic pronoun is related to the type of RC. In linguistic typology it is customary to distinguish between 'restrictive' and 'non-restrictive' RCs (Comrie 1989: 138 ff.).⁹¹ The difference is defined as follows by Comrie: 'the restrictive relative clause uses presupposed information to identify the referent of a noun phrase, while the non-restrictive relative is a way of presenting new information on the basis of the assumption that the referent can already be identified' (1989: 139). He adds that 'in typological terms ... this distinction seems to be almost completely irrelevant' (ibid.). It is generally assumed that the distinction has no relevance for Greek either: '11 n'existe pas en grec de signe de subordination qui permette de distinguer *formellement*... les propositions circonstancielles [i.e. non-restrictive RCs] des propositions determinatives [i.e. restrictive RCs]' (Humbert 1960: 239).

(p.364) Bakker, however, who uses the terms ‘essential’ and ‘non-essential’, found that in non-Biblical Greek the pleonastic pronoun occurs exclusively in non-restrictive RCs (1974: 13, 29). Its occurrence in (35) and (36) would be in accordance with his rule. The use of a pleonastic pronoun in restrictive RCs as in (33), (34), and (37), on the other hand, would bend the rule: ‘when a relat[ive] clause in which occurs a *pronomen abundans* is essential (restrictive), it does not follow the rules of the Greek language and must be considered as non-Greek, and therefore as a Semitism’ (1974: 36).⁹² Elsewhere he contends that ‘the phenomenon breaks through its limits [sc. of the Greek language], or rather it *stretches* them extremely far’ (1974: 35—emphasis added). Bakker’s use of the word ‘stretch’ suggests that what we have here is in fact an example of extension of a syntactic rule: the use of the pleonastic pronoun is no longer restricted to non-restrictive RCs, but is extended to restrictive RCs on the analogy of the Hebrew usage. According to Soisalon-Soininen it is ‘the natural result of the literal translation of the Hebrew text’ (1987*1b* [1977]: 60).

Turkish RCs do not resemble their Greek counterparts at all typologically. As already remarked, the Modern Greek language does not use a relative pronoun, but an indeclinable relative marker που, comparable to Hebrew אֲשֶׁר ‘*ăšer*. But apart from that the Modern Greek RC has remained a finite clause as in Ancient Greek. The Turkish RC, on the other hand, is of a completely different type in that it does not resort to a finite verb but to a participle.⁹³ For this reason Lehmann prefers to speak of a ‘Relativpartizip’ or ‘relative participle’ (1984: 49, 52 ff.).⁹⁴ Another typological difference between Greek and Turkish RCs has to do with word order. Turkish is a canonical SOV language.⁹⁵ A typological corollary of this basic word order is that the modifier always precedes the modified. This means that, for instance, nominal modifiers such as demonstratives, adjectives, and RCs precede the noun, as in the following examples:⁹⁶

(p.365)

(38a)	<i>bu</i>	<i>Küçük</i>	<i>Kız</i>
	This	little	girl
	This little girl.		

(38b)	<i>bu</i>	<i>küçük</i>	<i>ol-an</i>	<i>kız</i>
	This	little	be-PART	girl
	This girl who is little.			

In the Modern Greek equivalents of (38a-b) the nominal modifiers either precede or follow the noun,⁹⁷ except for the RC, which always follows:⁹⁸

(39a)	αυτό	το=μικρό	το=κορίτσι
	this	the=little	the=girl
	This little girl.		
(39b)	αυτό	το=κορίτσι	το=μικρό
	this	the=girl	the=little
	This <i>little</i> girl.		

(39c)	αυτό	το=κορίτσι	που=είναι	μικρό
	this	the=girl	REL=be-3sg	little
	This girl who is little.			

In both Turkish and Greek grammars RCs are sometimes called ‘adjective clauses’, because a RC modifies a noun in much the same way as an adjective does, in that it restricts the semantic domain covered by the noun.⁹⁹ The parallelism is borne out formally in the Turkish examples (38a–b) especially. As Lewis puts it, Turkish RCs actually ‘function as adjectives’ (1967: 158).

In (38b) the antecedent *kız* is also the subject of the RC. If such is not the case, Turkish resorts to another type of participle, called ‘personal participle’ by Lewis (1967: 163; 2000: 165), which is formed by adding a pronominal suffix to the participles in *-dik* **(p.366)** (Kornfilt 1987: 630; 1997: 57).¹⁰⁰ Compare, for instance, the following Modern Greek example with its Turkish translation (40b):

(40a)	βρήκε	το=κορίτσι	που=γύρενε
	find-AOR-3sg	this=girl	REL=look for-IPH-3sg
(40b)	<i>ara-dıĝ-ı</i>	<i>kız-ı</i>	<i>bul-du</i>
	look for-PART-3sg	girl-ACC	find-PAST-3sg
	He found the girl he was looking for.		

Literally, (40b) translates as ‘he found the girl of his looking for’. The differences between the Greek RC and its Turkish counterpart are obvious. Not only does Turkish use a participle instead of a finite verb, but in terms of linear word order the two utterances are each other’s mirror image: VO/OV (and N-RC/RC-N).

Cappadocian RCs are like Greek RCs in that they have retained the finite verb construction with a relative marker. The usual relative marker in Cappadocian is the indeclinable *tó*, plural *tá*.¹⁰¹ At Faraşa (*Βαρασόç* *Varašós* in the local dialect), it is the indeclinable *tú*.¹⁰² The loss of gender distinctions is due to Turkish influence,¹⁰³ since Turkish has no grammatical gender.¹⁰⁴ The loss of case distinctions is a corollary of this, as Dawkins points out in connection with the article: ‘Where, with the breakdown of the distinction between these two classes, all nouns tend to become neuter in form ... [t]here is no distinction of case or gender: the only forms used being *to* (*do*) for the singular and *to* (*da*) for the plural’ (1916: 87).

The Cappadocian relative marker is formally identical with the article. It is important to realize that the use of this so-called ‘post-positive’ article goes back to ancient times.¹⁰⁵ It was, in fact, very common in the Ionic dialect,¹⁰⁶ notably in Homer and Herodotus, which may be the reason why it spread over Asia Minor.¹⁰⁷ The article is in origin a demonstrative and it is this originally demonstrative function which explains its use as a relative marker, e.g. in **(p. 367)** Homer.¹⁰⁸ It should be noted, however, that the postpositive article is sporadically attested in Classical and post-Classical Greek,¹⁰⁹ especially in unofficial inscriptions and papyri.¹¹⁰

Cappadocian and Greek RCs differ, however, in their position *vis-à-vis* the noun. Whereas Greek RCs always follow the noun, Cappadocian RCs normally precede. The Cappadocian equivalent of (40a) illustrates the point (Dawkins 1916: 526):

(40b)	<i>ara-diğ-i</i>	<i>kız-ı</i>	<i>bul-du</i>
	look-for-PART-3sg	girl -ACC	find-PAST-3sg

(40c)	<i>ívre</i>	<i>tú=írepse</i>	<i>to=korítsi</i>
	ftnd-AOR-3sg	REL= look for-AOR-3sg	the=girl
	He found the girl he was looking for.		

Prepositive RCs are a clear sign of Turkish interference.¹¹¹ There is, however, a crucial difference between the Cappadocian utterance (40c) and its Turkish equivalent (40b). The initial position of *ívre* in (40c) differs markedly from the final position of *buldu* in (40b). This means that Cappadocian word order is calqued on the Turkish only as far as the order of the RC and its antecedent is concerned, i.e. on the level of the noun phrase.¹¹² Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that, contrary to the claim made by Thomason and Kaufman (1988: 222), Cappadocian RCs are characterized by verb-second (V2) positioning, which is a pan-Greek phenomenon in subordinate clauses generally.¹¹³

Before concluding this section, I would like to return briefly to the hypothesis that RCs are in fact adjective clauses. It has been pointed out that in Modern Greek RCs differ from adjectives in that in terms of linear word order the former are obligatorily post-positive, as in (39c), but the latter normally prepositive, as in (39a). In Cappadocian the isomorphism between RCs and adjectives is almost complete.¹¹⁴ Compare, for instance, the following pairs. The first one comprises an adjective (Dawkins 1916: 392):

(p.368)

(41a)	<i>etó</i>	<i>to-mikró</i>	<i>to=korítsi</i>
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	this	the=little	the=girl
(41b)	<i>hu</i>	<i>küçük</i>	<i>kız</i>
	this	little	girl
	This little girl.		

The second one comprises a RC (Dawkins 1916: 306):

(42a)	<i>etó</i>	<i>tó-érxete</i>	<i>to=pedí</i>
	this	REL=come-PRES-3sg	the=child
(42b)	<i>bu</i>	<i>gel-en</i>	<i>çocuk</i>
	this	come-PART	child
	This child which is coming.		

From the Turkish point of view, Cappadocian RCs behave exactly like adjectives, including their position *vis-à-vis* other prenominal modifiers such as demonstratives.¹¹⁵ The isomorphism between (41a) and (42a) is so striking as to raise the question why Cappadocian should have retained the erstwhile ‘postpositive’ article as a relative marker. The first thing to note is that the accent on the relative marker *tó* is purely ‘orthographic’, possibly to distinguish it from the ‘true’ article *to*. The second thing to note is that the relative marker is no longer ‘postpositive’ *vis-à-vis* the noun, but rather ‘prepositive’, just like the ‘true’ article. There is reason to believe that both were actually identical, not just in form but in function as well.¹¹⁶ Already in Ancient Greek the ‘true’ article *TO* was used as a nominalizer.¹¹⁷ A telling example can be found in the New Testament, when Jesus tells a rich young man what the commandments are (Matt. 19: 18–19):

(43) τὸ οὐ φονεύσεις, οὐ μοιχεύσεις, οὐ κλέψεις, οὐ
 ψευδομαρτυρήσεις, τίμα τὸν πατέρα, καὶ τὴν μητέρα, καὶ ἀγαπήσεις τὸν
 πλησίον ὡς σεαυτόν.

(The) you shall not murder, you shall not commit adultery, you shall not steal, you shall not give false testimony honour your father and your mother, and love your neighbour as yourself.

Even in Modern Greek ‘the neuter forms of the definite article may be used to substantivize any part of speech (and even whole phrases and clauses) in a variety of ways’ (Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warbuton 1997: 28c).¹¹⁸ From, this perspective it is revealing **(p.369)** that Comrie should call the suffix *-dik* in personal participles like *ara-dik* (40b) a ‘nominalizing suffix’ (1989: 142). Could it be that the former ‘postpositive’ article developed into a nominalizer in Cappadocian to render the Turkish RC as faithfully as possible?¹¹⁹ As a matter of fact, Cappadocian lacks an active participle which could be used to render the Turkish relative participle in *-en*.¹²⁰

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that in terms of syntactic structure, the Cappadocian RCs are still Greek, whereas in terms of linear word order they have become Turkish, the proviso being that the overall word order within the sentence has remained Greek as well.¹²¹ I conclude with two final examples to show just how ‘heavy’ (in the sense of Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 50, 75–6) Turkish interference in Cappadocian could get.¹²² The first one comes from Telmisos (*Nτελμεσό Delmesó* in the local dialect). When Dawkins visited the village in 1910, he found the local dialect ‘relatively free from the influence of Turkish’ (1916: 13). So much so, in fact, that he considered it ‘the best representative of what Cappadocian Greek must have been before it was ... Turkised’ (ibid.), Turkish interference is nevertheless as ‘heavy’ as can be, as in the following example (Dawkins 1916: 314):

(44a)	<i>eší</i>	<i>tó=ívres</i>	<i>to=korič</i>	<i>etá</i>	<i>dé=ne?</i>
	you	REL=find-aor-28g	the=girl	that	not=be-3sg

(44b)	<i>sen-in</i>	<i>bul-duĝ-un</i>	<i>kız</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>değil=mi?</i>
	you-GEN	find-PART-2sg	girl	that	not be=PRT
	The girl you have found, is that not her?				

The Turkish RC (44b) literally translates as ‘the girl of your finding’. The Cappadocian RC (44a) is completely calqued on the Turkish, resulting in something which looks like an extracted pronoun, *ešĩ*, the case of which can only be explained from the Greek point of view. As the Cappadocian RC is a finite clause, its subject has to be in the nominative, not the genitive, which is the case of its Turkish counterpart. If (44a) were a translation of (44b), it would have to be called at once word-for-word and calqued, as in the translation Greek of (33) to (35).

I conclude with an almost identical example from a text from Faraša (Dawkins 1916: 500), where the local dialect was ‘still the habitual language of every-day life’ around 1910, even though all **(p.370)** the men and most of the women knew ‘more or less Turkish’ according to Dawkins (1916: 34):

(45a)	γό	<i>tú=pitaksa</i>	<i>to=palikári</i>	<i>pú</i>	<i>píje?</i>
	I	REL=send-AOR-ISG	the=youngster	where	go-AOR-3sg

(45b)	<i>ben-im</i>	<i>gönder-diğ-im</i>	<i>delikanh</i>	<i>nereye</i>	<i>git-ti?</i>
	I-GEN	send-PART-ISG	youngster	where	go-PAST-3sg
	The young man I sent, where did he go?				

4.2. Causatives

Kühne opens his monograph on the Greek causative with the statement: ‘Das griechische gehört nicht in die reihe der sprachen, welche für den causativen begriff eine feststehende form entwickelt haben’ (1882: 1). Indeed, of the Indo-European iterative-causative in **-éye/o-* with *o*-grade of the root (Szemerényi 1996: 295 ff.) only a few scattered remains have been preserved in Greek. Compare, for instance, φέβομαι ‘flee’ with φοβέω ‘cause to flee, put to flight’, φοβέομαι ‘be put to flight’.¹²³

The Hebrew verb system, on the other hand, comprises two separate categories with causative meaning, traditionally called פִּעַל *pī’ēl* ‘piel’ and הִפְעִיל *hip* ‘hifil’, derived by ablaut and, in the case of the hifil, by prefixation from the base, traditionally called קָל *qal* ‘qal’.¹²⁴ The hifil is usually considered the causative proper, whereas the piel has a variety of meanings, one of which is traditionally called ‘factitive’. The difference between hifil and piel is generally related to dynamic vs. stative verbs, but in actual practice the distinction is often blurred.¹²⁵ Muraoka notes, for instance, that piel and hifil of חָיָה *hāyâ* ‘live’ are ‘often interchangeable’ in the sense of ‘let live’ or ‘bring (back) to life’ (Joüion and Muraoka 1996: 156)¹²⁶

Typologically, causatives can be distinguished into three types, viz. morphological, analytic, and lexical.¹²⁷ The Hebrew piel and hifil are morphological causatives, as can be gathered from the proportionality between, for example, מוֹת *mûl* ‘die’ and the corresponding hifil הִמִּית *hēmît* ‘cause to die = kill’. English has to resort to analytic constructions to express causative meaning, as in the gloss ‘cause to die’. Lexical causatives are of the type ‘kill = cause to (p.371) die’, the classic example in contemporary linguistics.¹²⁸ Since every language has lexical causatives, this distinction does not seem very relevant in typological terms.¹²⁹

As has already been remarked, Ancient Greek did not have a separate category for morphological causatives. Apart from the lexical type, however, it could also resort to analytic causatives, as in the following example (Mark 7: 37):¹³⁰

(45) καὶ τοὺς κωφοὺς ποιεῖ ἀκούειν καὶ τοὺς ἀλάλους λαλεῖν.

He even makes the deaf hear and the mute speak.

To some extent, however, causative meanings could be expressed by morphological means in Greek as well. A case in point is the difference between the intransitive or ‘anti-causative’ (Comrie 1989: 168) middle voice and the transitive or causative active voice of verbs like ἵσταμαι ‘stand’ vs. ἵστημι ‘make stand’.¹³¹ The same proportionality recurs in the aorist, e.g. intransitive (anti-causative) ἔστην ‘stood’ vs. transitive (causative) ἔστησα ‘made stand’.¹³²

There are, however, a number of derived verbs which seem to take on causative meaning occasionally.¹³³ Among the ones singled out by Kühne because they are used causatively ‘mit einer besonderen vorliebe’ (1882: 14) are verbs in *-óm* and *-ίζω*. The former have always been extremely productive, not least in the Hellenistic age.¹³⁴ Most of them are denominatives with factitive meaning equivalent to the Hebrew piel.¹³⁵ Equally productive are verbs in *-ίζω*.¹³⁶ Both types must have been in competition, as can be gathered from the coexistence of such pairs as *ὀρκίζω* vs. *ὀρκόω* ‘make swear’, *φορτίζω* vs. *φορτίόω* ‘make carry’, etc.¹³⁷

Finally, it should be mentioned that it was always possible in Greek to make an intransitive (anti-causative) verb transitive (causative) by simply adding a direct object to it.¹³⁸ A well-known example is the following, which has a ‘postpositive’ article as well (Hdt. 1.206):

(p.372)

(47) *παῦσαι σπεύδων τὰ σπεύδεις.*

Stop hurrying on what you are hurrying on.

Now what happens when a Hebrew piel or hifil is translated into Greek? The translation technique of the LXX demands a translation which is both word-for-word and calqued, whence a preference for morphological causatives.¹³⁹ In some cases the translators used ‘alternative techniques’ (Tov 1999 [1982]: 195), as in the following example, where *הַקָּטִין* *haqtîn*, hifil of *קָטַן* *qāṭan* ‘be small’, is translated as *ποιέω μικρόν*, an analytical causative (instead of *μικρύνω*, 1 Chron. 17: 17), whereas *הַגָּדִיל* *hagdîl*, hifil of *גָּדַל* *gādal* ‘be great’, is rendered by *μεγαλύνω*, a morphological causative (Amos 8: 5):

וְהַקָּטִין אִפְּהָ אֵיפָה וְהַגָּדִיל שֶׁקֶל
 τοῦ ποιῆσαι μικρὸν μέτρον καὶ τοῦ μεγαλύναι στάθμην.
וְהַקָּטִין אִפְּהָ וְהַגָּדִיל שֶׁקֶל
lê-haqṭîṭn ʾēpā ū-lê-hagdîl šeqel
 τοῦ ποιῆσαι μικρὸν μέτρον καὶ τοῦ μεγαλύναι στάθμην

(48) To skimp the measure and boost the prices.

The alternative techniques employed to translate *הֵיטִיב* *hêtîb*, hifil of *יָטַב* *yātab* ‘be good’ are quite remarkable: *ἀγαθόω* (1 Kgs. 25: 31) vs. *ἀγαθύνω* (1 Kgs. 2: 32); *ἀγαθύνω* (Judg. 17: 13B) vs. *ἀγαθοποιέω* (Judg. 17: 13A); *ἀγαθοποιέω* vs. *εὖ ποιέω* (both Num. 10: 32).

The morphological proportionality between qal and hifil is faithfully rendered in the case of *יִצְטָא* and *יִצְטְהִי* only. In the following pair *יִצְטָא* translates עָמַד *‘āmad* ‘stand’ (Num. 27: 21), *יִצְטָא* its hifil הִעֲמִיד *he’ēmîd* ‘make stand’ (Num. 27: 19):

וְהִעֲמַדְתָּ אֹתוֹ לִפְנֵי אֱלֹעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן.

καὶ στήσεις αὐτὸν ἔναντι Ἐλεάζαρ τοῦ ἱερέως.

וְהִעֲמַדְתָּ	אֹתוֹ	לִפְנֵי	אֱלֹעָזָר	הַכֹּהֵן
<i>wē-ha’āmadtā</i>	<i>’ōtô</i>	<i>li-pnê</i>	<i>’el’āzār</i>	<i>hak-kōhēn</i>

(49a) καὶ στήσεις αὐτὸν ἔναντι Ἐλεάζαρ τοῦ ἱερέως

And you will make him stand before Eleazar the priest.

וְלִפְנֵי אֱלֹעָזָר הַכֹּהֵן יַעֲמֹד.

καὶ ἔναντι Ἐλεάζαρ τοῦ ἱερέως στήσεται.

וְלִפְנֵי	אֱלֹעָזָר	הַכֹּהֵן	יַעֲמֹד
<i>wē-li-pnê</i>	<i>’el’āzār</i>	<i>hak-kōhēn</i>	<i>ya’āmōd</i>

(49b) καὶ ἔναντι Ἐλεάζαρ τοῦ ἱερέως στήσεται

(p.373)

And before Eleazar the priest he will stand.

Of the morphological causatives, those in *-ίζω* are by far the most popular in the LXX.¹⁴⁰ A particularly telling example is the frequency of *ὀρκίζω* vs. *ὀρκόω*, both used to translate הִשְׁבִּיעַ *hišbîā’*, hifil of שָׁבַע *šāba’* ‘swear’. Whereas *ὀρκίζω* is used 22 times in the LXX, *ὀρκόω* occurs only once as a variant of the former (2 Kgs. 11: 4):

וַיִּשְׁבַּע אֹתָם.

καὶ ὀρκισεν αὐτούς.

ὀρκωσεν B

וַיִּשְׁבַּע	אֹתָם
<i>way-yišba’</i>	<i>’ōtām</i>

50 καὶ ὀρκισεν αὐτούς

And he made them swear.

The question is whether *ὀρκίζω* and *ὀρκόω* were felt to be morphological rather than lexical causatives. In the following example (1 Kgs. 1: 29), another form of שָׁבַע *šāba’* ‘swear’ is used to express the ‘anti-causative’ meaning, viz. נִשְׁבַּע *nišba’*, the so-called נִפְעַל *nip’al* ‘nifal’, the meaning of which is akin to the Greek middle voice.¹⁴¹ Whereas there is an obvious proportionality between הִשְׁבִּיעַ *hišbîā’* ‘make swear’, נִשְׁבַּע *nišba’* ‘swear for oneself, and שָׁבַע *šāba’* ‘swear’, there is no morphological relation between *ὀρκίζω/ὀρκόω* (50) and *ὀμνυμι*, which is used to translate the Hebrew nifal in (51):

וישב המלך.
καὶ ὤμοσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς.

וישב המלך
way-yiṣṣāba' ham-melek
(51) καὶ ὤμοσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς

And the king swore.

The same applies, *mutatis mutandis*, to βαίνω 'go' and βιβάζω 'make go'. Although both are historically related, there is no productive word-formation pattern by which to derive the former from (p.374) the latter in the Hellenistic age. It would seem better, then, to consider βιβάζω as a lexical or rather lexicalized causative.¹⁴² βαίνω and its compounds are nevertheless used systematically to translate the qal as in (52a) (Gen. 13: 1), βιβάζω and its compounds to translate the hifil as in (52b) (Exod. 17: 3):

ויעל אברהם ממצרים.
ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβράμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου.

ויעל אברהם ממצרים
way-ya'al 'abrām mim-miṣrayim
(52a) ἀνέβη δὲ Ἀβράμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου

And Abraham went out to Egypt.

למה זה העליתנו ממצרים.
ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἀνεβίβασας ἡμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου;

למה זה העליתנו ממצרים
lām-mā zēh he'ēlītā-nū mim-miṣrayim
(52b) ἵνα τί τοῦτο ἀνεβίβασας ἡμᾶς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου

Why did you make us go out of Egypt?

In the same way καταβαίνω translates ירד yārad 'go down', κατα-βιβάζω its hifil הוריד hōrîd 'make go down' (Ezek. 31: 15–16), and διαβαίνω עבר 'ābar 'cross over', διαβαίνω its hifil העביר he'ēbîr 'make cross over' (2 Kgs. 19: 40–1).

In some cases the same verb is used to translate both qal and hifil. In the following pair ἀποστρέφω is used both intransitively to translate שוב šûb 'return' (Gen. 18: 33) and transitively to translate its hifil השיב hēšîb 'make return' (Gen. 28: 15):

והשבתיך אל-האדמה הזאת.
καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην.
והשבתיך אל-האדמה הזאת
wa-hāšibōtî-kā 'el-hā-'ādāmā haz-zōt
καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην

(53a) ¹⁴² Cf. Janse (1999a) 144.

And Abraham returned to his place.

וְהָשִׁבְתִּיךָ אֶל־הָאָדָמָה הַזֹּאת.

καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε εἰς τὴν γῆν ταύτην.

וְהָשִׁבְתִּיךָ

wa-hāšibōtī-kā

אֶל־הָאָדָמָה

'el-hā-'ādāmā

הַזֹּאת

haz-zōt

καὶ ἀποστρέψω σε

εἰς τὴν γῆν

ταύτην

(53b)

¹⁴² Cf. Janse (1999a) 144.

(p.375)

And I will let you return to this land.

Conversely, βασιλεύω is used both intransitively to translate מָלַךְ *mālak* 'be king' and transitively to translate its hifil הִמְלִיךָ *himlīk* 'make king', as in the following example (1 Kgs. 15: 35):¹⁴³

וְהִמְלִיךְ אֶת־שָׂאוּל עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל.

ἐβασίλευσεν τὸν Σαοὺλ ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ.

וְהִמְלִיךְ

himlik

אֶת־שָׂאוּל

'et-šā'ūl

עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל

'al-yisrā'el

ἐβασίλευσεν

τὸν Σαοὺλ

ἐπὶ

Ἰσραήλ

(54)

He had made Saul king over Israel.

Finally, analytic causatives were used as well,¹⁴⁴ although this translation technique was against God's instruction to Moses quoted in (16), hence against the word-for-word principle. The following example illustrates both the analytic causative and the use of a pleonastic pronoun in the EC (Judg. 16: 26a):

וְהִמְשִׁינִי אֶת־הָעַמּוּדִים אֲשֶׁר הַבַּיִת נִכּוֹן עָלֵיהֶם.

καὶ ποίησον ψηλαφῆσαί με ἐπὶ τοὺς στύλους ἐφ' ὧν ὁ οἶκος ἐπεστήρικται ἐπ' αὐτῶν.

וְהִמְשִׁינִי

we-hēmīšē-nī

אֶת־הָעַמּוּדִים

'et-hā-'ammūdīm

אֲשֶׁר

'āšer

הַבַּיִת

hab-bayit

καὶ ποίησον ψηλαφῆσαί με

ἐπὶ τοὺς στύλους

ἐφ' ὧν

ὁ οἶκος

נִכּוֹן

nākōn

עָלֵיהֶם

'ālē-hem

ἐπεστήρικται

ἐπ' αὐτῶν

(55)

And make me feel the pillars by which the temple is supported.

Turkish resembles Hebrew in that its verb system allows for the productive formation of morphological causatives. The most productive suffix to derive causative stems from the base is *-dir*.¹⁴⁵ Modern Greek, on the other hand, does not have morphological causatives.¹⁴⁶ It can express causativity either by adding a direct object to an intransitive (anti-causative) verb or by using an analytic causative with κάνω 'do'.¹⁴⁷ In Cappadocian both strategies (p.376) are attested, as in the following pair from Silata (Dawkins 1916: 452), where the Ancient Greek verb ποιέω is used, which has been preserved in the aorist only:¹⁴⁸

(56a)	<i>Pjós=se</i>	<i>piken</i>	<i>na=jelášis</i>
	Who=you	make-AOR-3sg	PRT =laugh-AOR-2sg
	Who made you laugh?		

(56b)	<i>éna= maimúm =me</i>	<i>jélasen</i>
	ART =monkey =me	laugh-AOR-3sg
	A monkey made me laugh.	

Much more common, however, is the borrowing of Turkish causative stems. Borrowing of verb stems is highly unusual, as Dawkins correctly observes: ‘verbs are borrowed much less easily than other parts of speech, and only appear in any number when the vocabularies of two languages have reached a high degree of fusion’ (1916: 197),¹⁴⁹ He adds that in certain subdialects these Turkish loans ‘have entirely superseded the corresponding Greek verbs’ (1916: 198).

Turkish verbs are fully integrated in the Cappadocian verb system and acquire the normal set of inflectional and derivational possibilities. However, it is not easy to decide how these verbs are actually transferred from Turkish into Cappadocian. According to Dawkins, they are formed ‘by adding (1) *-dó*, *-dás*, *-dá*, etc, or (2) *-dizo* to the Turkish verb stem’ (1916: 129).¹⁵⁰ For instance, the Turkish verb *ara-mak* ‘seek’ appears in Cappadocian as either *aradó* or *amdízo*.¹⁵¹ The origin of the *-d-* in the various suffixes is best explained on the basis of the Turkish definite or *di*-past,¹⁵² The past tense of *ara-mak* is *ara-di* (with vowel harmony). *Ara-di* is the unmarked third person singular, which was reanalysed as a stem, in accordance with Watkins’s Law,¹⁵³ and borrowed as a perfective or aorist stem in Cappadocian, the unmarked and hence the basic stem of the Greek verb generally.¹⁵⁴ The resulting form was Isg *arádisa arátsa*, subjunctive *aradíso*, which could be interpreted as **(p.377)** being derived from either *aradó* < *aradáo* or *aradízo*.¹⁵⁵ The process can be represented as follows:

(57) *ara-di* → *arádiso arátsa*, subj. *aradíso*
 → *aradáo* > *aradó/aradízo*

The interpretation of *arátsa/aradíso* as being derived from a present *aradízo* should not come as a surprise, as the *-ízo* suffix has always been extremely productive, as noted above, and it remained so throughout the Middle Ages until the present day,¹⁵⁶ Verbs in *-ó* < *-áo* constitute, of course, a very important category in the Modern Greek verb system generally,¹⁵⁷ so the alternative interpretation of *arátsa/aradíso* as being derived from a present *aradó* < *aradáo* is quite natural as well.

Interestingly, Turkish causative stems in *-dir* are borrowed in Cappadocian as well. The following example from Ulağaç is derived from the past tense of *öl-mek* 'die' (Dawkins 1916:666 s.v. *ölmek*):¹⁵⁸

(58a) *öl-dü→öldíso→öldízo* 'die'

(59a) *öl-dür-dü→öldürdíso→öldürdizo* 'cause to die =ill'

The formation of causatives is as productive in Cappadocian as

it is in Turkish, as can be inferred from even the briefest inspection of the available glossaries.¹⁵⁹ The following is a selection taken from Anastasiadis (1980 a; 325):

(59) *bulan-dı→pulandizo* 'become turbid, muddy'

bulan-dır-dı→pulandurdizo 'make turbid, muddy'

(60) *dolan-dı→tolandízo* 'go round'

dolan-dır-dı→tolandurdzo 'make go round'

(61) *usan-dı→tosandízo* 'be/get tired, fed up'

usan-dır-dı→osandurdizo 'annoy, bother'

(p.378) Now the question may be asked whether the Turkish causatives were indeed transferred as such into Cappadocian, as suggested by the arrows in the examples just quoted. Alternatively, they could be genuinely Cappadocian formations. In that case, the causative suffix *-dir-* would have been abstracted from the causative stems and become a productive suffix in Cappadocian as well. It is very difficult to decide how the transfer must have taken place for want of native speakers, but the possibility is a real one. All depends on the degree of bilingualism of the Cappadocians in the different villages and on their fluency in Turkish. That the possibility cannot be ruled out beforehand is proven by the fact that some Turkish suffixes are used to derive genuinely Greek words. Dawkins has recorded the following example at Ferteke (1916: 130):

(62) *astenár-lan-s-e*

ill-PAss. AOR.3sg

He became ill.

The suffix *-lan-* (usually *-len-*) is used to derive reflexive and passive verbs or, in the words of Dawkins, 'to make an intransitive verb ... from an adjective' (1916: 130),¹⁶⁰ in this case *astenár* = *αοθενής* 'ill'. Another example is the following from Malakopi, which is derived from *xuli* = *χολή* 'anger, wrath' (ibid.):

(63) *xul-lán-s-in*

angry-pass-AOR-3sg

He became angry.

Finally, I mention another Greek word from Ulağaç derived by means of a Turkish suffix, in this particular case another causative suffix *-t*:¹⁶¹

(64) *Psofá -t-s-an=to*
kill-CAUS-AOR-3pl= him
They killed him.

The Cappadocian verb is *psofó* (< *psofáo*), which, according to Dawkins, is used in Modern Greek ‘only of animals; in Capp[a-docian] and Ph[arasiot] also of men, especially of Turks’ (1916: 663 s.v. ψοφῶ).¹⁶² The use of the *t*-suffix instead of *-dir* is regular from **(p.379)** a Turkish point of view, as the former is used ‘with polysyllabic stems ending in a vowel’ (Lewis 1967: 145; 2000: 147).

It is difficult, if at all possible, to decide whether these formations have ever been productive in Cappadocian. Examples (62) to (64) are the only ones Dawkins recorded, and he explicitly uses the word ‘occasionally’ (1916: 130). If, on the other hand, such formations- were not productive, they nevertheless violate the so-called Free Morpheme Constraint. This constraint basically states that code-switching cannot take place within words and that, in other words, affixes of one language cannot be attached to lexical stems of another.’¹⁶³ As has already been remarked, the concept of code-switching does not apply to Cappadocian as it emerges from the texts recorded by Dawkins. What we have here can best be described as code-mixing.¹⁶⁴

4.3. Clitics

Hebrew has relatively few clitics as compared to Greek. There are a few proclitics, which are usually, though not always, connected orthographically with the following word by means of a diacritic sign called **מקף** *maqep* 'linking, linker'.¹⁶⁵ Examples include the negative marker **לֹא** - 'not', the relative marker **אשר** 'dser, the object marker **את**, et- prepositions like **אל** 'el- 'towards' and **על** 'al- 'on', and other monosyllables like **כול** 'kol- 'all'.¹⁶⁶ Hebrew does not have enclitics. Instead of enclitic pronouns (EPs), as in Greek, Hebrew uses pronominal suffixes if no special emphasis is needed.¹⁶⁷ It should come as no surprise that in the LXX EPs are normally postpositive *vis-à-vis* the noun or verb by which they are governed, as Wifstrand observes: 'die Septuaginta [haben] in manchen Büchern nur unmittelbare Nachstellung des Pronomens ..., weil (p. 380) die Übersetzung sich so am besten an das Original anschliessen kann, wo die betreffende Pronominalbegriffe nicht durch besondere Wörter ausgedrückt werden, sondern durch Suffixe, die an die Substantiv-oder Verbform angehängt werden' (1949-50: 44).¹⁶⁸ Since these pronominal suffixes are repeated on consecutive verbs or nouns in Hebrew, the EPs in the LXX are characterized by what Swete calls 'wearisome iteration' (1914: 307). The phenomenon is evidenced by the following example (Gen. 48: 4), which also contains two causatives, viz. **מפרך** *maprēkā*, hifil participle of **פרה** *pārah* 'be fertile', and **הרביתך** *hirbîtikā*, hifil **רבה** *rābah* 'be plentiful':

מפרך והרביתך ונתתיך לקהל עמים.

aûξανw σε καὶ πληθυνw σε καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς συναγωγὰς ἐθνwv.

מפרך	והרביתך	ונתתיך	לקהל
<i>maprē-kā</i>	<i>wē-hirbîtī-kā</i>	<i>ū-nētattī-kā</i>	<i>li-qhal</i>

aûξανw σε καὶ πληθυνw σε καὶ ποιήσω σε εἰς συναγωγὰς

עמים

'ammîm

(65) *ἐθνwv*

I will make you fertile and make you plentiful and make you a community of peoples.

The books with almost exclusively postpositive EPs referred to by Wifstrand (1949-50:44-5) are identical to the 'later hooks' identified by Thackeray as exhibiting a 'growing reverence for the letter of the Hebrew' (1909: 30). In the Pentateuch, however, the ratio between post- and prepositive EPs is different, especially in the book of Genesis, where it is estimated at 850 to 65 by Wifstrand (1949-50: 50). In the New Testament postpositive EPs are in the majority as well,¹⁶⁹ but the same ratio obtains in non-Biblical Greek, especially in 'vernacular' as opposed to 'literary Greek' (Wifstrand 1949: 178 ff.).¹⁷⁰ Aloulton explains the 'wearisome iteration' of EPs as being characteristic of the 'vernacular' and 'colloquial style' as well (1908: 85).¹⁷¹

If postposition had become the unmarked order for EPs in the κοινή generally, it will be difficult to describe the phenomenon in the LXX as translation Greek. It is rather a matter of ‘over-working’ (**p.381**) and ‘accumulation’, in the words of Thackeray (1909: 29). Put differently, postposition of EPs was ‘brought into prominence’ (Moul-ton 1908: 11) because it corresponded with suffixation in Hebrew.

The question is, however, why the LXX should have prepositive EPs at all. It is well known that in Ancient Greek EPs were more often prepositive than not. In fact, there was a tendency for EPs (and other enclitics) to come second in the sentence or clause, a phenomenon known as Wackernagel’s Law (Wackernagel 1892: 335 ff.).¹⁷² The exact interpretation of Wackernagel’s Law need not detain us here. Suffice it to say that preposition of EPs is generally triggered by the presence of a word at the start of the sentence or clause that is ‘heavily accented’ (Wifstrand 1949: 178).¹⁷³ A case in point is the following example (Isa. 43: 4), where the EP is attracted to the ‘heavily accented’ subject pronoun:

- אני אהבתיך.
 ἐγὼ σε ἠγάπησα.
 אני אהבתיך
 ’ānī ’āhahitī-kā
 (66) ἐγὼ ἠγάπησά σε
 I have loved you.

Interestingly, the same passage is quoted with the reverse order in the Apocalypse (Rev. 3: 9), The same variation also occurs in the following pair, where the EPs are attracted to the ‘heavily accented’ negative markers οὐ μή and οὔτε μή in (67a) (Deut, 31: 6), but not to the proclitic negative marker οὐ (and hence probably neither to οὔτε μή)¹⁷⁴ in (67b) (Deut. 31:8):

- לֹא יַרְפֶּךָ וְלֹא יַעֲזֹבֶךָ.
 οὐ μή σε ἀνῆ οὔτε μή σε ἐγκαταλίπη.
 לֹא יַרְפֶּךָ וְלֹא יַעֲזֹבֶךָ
 lō yarpē-kā wē-lō ya’āzēbek-kā
 (67a) οὐ μή ἀνῆ σε οὔτε μή ἐγκαταλίπη σε
 He will never (ever) leave you nor (ever) forsake you.

- לֹא יַרְפֶּךָ וְלֹא יַעֲזֹבֶךָ.
 (67b) οὐ ἀνῆ σε οὔτε μή ἐγκαταλίπη σε.
(p.382)

לֹא יַרְפֶּךָ וְלֹא יַעֲזֹבֶךָ
 lō yarpē-kā wē-lō ya’āzēbek-kā
 οὐ ἀνῆ σε οὔτε μή ἐγκαταλίπη σε

He will never leave you nor (ever) forsake you.

The following example (Deut. 30: 5) is even more interesting, because it illustrates all that has been discussed so far: post- and prepositive EPs, pleonastic pronouns, and causatives. Since the LXX translators used analytic causatives to render the Hebrew *hifil* in two cases (*הִטִּב* *hṭb*, *hifil* of *טוב* *b* ‘be good’, and *הִרְבִּיחַ* *hirbîḥa*, *hifil* of *רבה* *rābah* ‘be plentiful’), they were able to separate the causative and lexical meanings and to emphasize the latter, which resulted in the attraction of the EPs:¹⁷⁵

- וְהִבִּיאֲךָ יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֶל־הָאָרֶץ אֲשֶׁר־יְרָשׁוּ אֲבֹתֶיךָ וִירְשָׁתָהּ וְהִטְבָּךָ וְהִרְבִּיחָךָ מֵאֲבֹתֶיךָ.
- καὶ εἰσάξει σε κύριος ὁ θεός σου εἰς τὴν γῆν ἣν ἐκληρονόμησαν οἱ πατέρες σου καὶ κληρονομήσεις αὐτήν καὶ εὖ σε ποιήσει καὶ πλεοναστόν σε ποιήσει ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας σου.
- | | | | |
|---------------------|-------------|------------------|---------------------|
| וְהִבִּיאֲךָ | יְהוָה | אֱלֹהֶיךָ | אֶל־הָאָרֶץ |
| <i>we-hēbî'ā-kā</i> | <i>YHWH</i> | <i>'ēlohē-kā</i> | <i>'el-hā-'āreṣ</i> |
| καὶ εἰσάξει σε | κύριος | ὁ θεός σου | εἰς τὴν γῆν |
- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------|-------------------------|
| אֲשֶׁר־יְרָשׁוּ | אֲבֹתֶיךָ | וִירְשָׁתָהּ |
| <i>'āšer-yārēšū</i> | <i>'ābōtē-kā</i> | <i>wi-rištā-h</i> |
| ἣν ἐκληρονόμησαν | οἱ πατέρες σου | καὶ κληρονομήσεις αὐτήν |
- | | | |
|---------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|
| וְהִטְבָּךָ | וְהִרְבִּיחָךָ | מֵאֲבֹתֶיךָ |
| <i>we-hēṭībē-kā</i> | <i>we-hirbē-kā</i> | <i>mē-'ābōtē-kā</i> |
| καὶ εὖ ποιήσει σε | καὶ πλεοναστόν ποιήσει σε | ὑπὲρ τοὺς πατέρας σου |
- (68)

And the Lord your God will bring you into the land which your fathers occupied, and you will occupy it, and he will do you good and make you more numerous.

Finally, it should be mentioned that relative pronouns regularly attract EPs into second position as well.¹⁷⁶ Given the originally demonstrative function of relative pronouns, it is easy to see why they should be reckoned among the ‘heavily accented’ words. Compare, for instance, the following example (Isa. 8: 18):

- הִנֵּה אֲנִכִּי וְהַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר נָתַן־לִי יְהוָה.
- (69) ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ καὶ τὰ παῖδιά ἃ μοι ἔδωκεν ὁ θεός.
- (p.383)
- | | | | | | |
|--------------|---------------|----------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------|
| הִנֵּה | אֲנִכִּי | וְהַיְלָדִים | אֲשֶׁר | נָתַן־לִי | יְהוָה |
| <i>hinnē</i> | <i>'ānōkī</i> | <i>we-ha-yēlādīm</i> | <i>'āšer</i> | <i>nātan-lī</i> | <i>YHWH</i> |
| ἰδοὺ | ἐγὼ | καὶ τὰ παῖδιά | ἃ | ἔδωκεν μοι | ὁ θεός |

Here am I and the children the Lord has given me.

The conclusion to be drawn from all this is that whereas the word-for-word principle was adhered to as strictly as possible, the LXX translators nevertheless deviated from the rule to produce idiomatic Greek on occasion. As Wifstrand puts it: ‘Offenbar war in solchen Fällen der griechische Sprachgebrauch so fest, dass einige von den Übersetzern der jüdischen Bibelbücher dadurch bisweilen zu einer kleinen Abweichung von der im allgemeinen befolgten Wortstellung gezwungen wurden’ (1949–50: 69–70). This makes it very improbable that the LXX translators were native speakers of Hebrew or Aramaic, as the letter of Aristeas suggests (see (10) and (11) above). In fact, if they were able to deal with such subtleties as Wackernagel’s Law, we must assume that they were native speakers of the Egyptian κοινή, specifically in the case of the Pentateuch.¹⁷⁷

Turkish, like Hebrew, has relatively few clitics as compared to Greek, and no clitic pronouns or pronominal suffixes (with the exception of possessive suffixes).¹⁷⁸ If there is no need to emphasize the pronoun, it is generally omitted altogether.¹⁷⁹ If a pronoun is used, it is always prepositive *vis-à-vis* the verb by which it is governed, Turkish being a canonical SOV language.¹⁸⁰

Cappadocian, on the other hand, has retained the Ancient Greek EPs, which are generally postpositive *vis-à-vis* the verb.¹⁸¹ Compare, for instance, the following example from Telmisos (70a) (Dawkins 1916: 324 ff.) with its Modern Greek equivalent (70b), which also confirms Moulton’s observation that the ‘wearisome iteration’ of EPs is a feature of ‘vernacular’ and ‘colloquial’ language generally (1908: 85):

(p.384)

(70a)	<i>ksévalen=čin</i>	<i>ke=piren=čin</i>
	take out-AOR-3sg=her	and=take-AOR-3sg=her
(70b)	<i>την έβγαλε</i>	<i>και την πήρε</i>
	her=take out-AOR-3Sg	and=her=take-AOR-3sg
(70a)	<i>ke=lúsen=čin</i>	<i>ke=eplimm=čin</i>
	and=bathe-AOR-3sg=her	and=wash-AOR-3sg=her
(70b)	<i>καί τη λούσε</i>	<i>καί την έπνε</i>
	and=her=bathe-AOR-3sg	and=her=wash-AOR-3sg

(70a)	<i>ke=piken=čin</i>	<i>pál</i>	<i>néka=t</i>
	and=make-AOR-3sg =her	again	wife=his

(70b)	<i>καί την έκαμε</i>	<i>πάλλ</i>	<i>τη γυναίκα του</i>
	andsher«make-AOR-3sg	again	ART=wife=his

He took her out and took her and bathed her and washed her and made her again his wife.

The Cappadocian situation has thus remained essentially the same as in the Hellenistic age, where postpositive EPs were in the majority as well, at least in colloquial texts. In fact, postpositive EPs are attested only in the Eastern dialects of Modern Greek, which seems to suggest that it was a distinctive feature of the Eastern (Asia Minor, Syro-Palestinian, and Egyptian) *καινή*.¹⁸² Interestingly, however, Cappadocian has generalized Wackernagel's Law in a number of syntactic contexts where prepositive EPs are obligatory.¹⁸³ One such context involves initial interrogatives as in (56a), but (56b) shows that any 'heavily accented' word or phrase could occasionally attract EPs in second position. The following example from Ulağaç (Dawkins 1916: 356) combines an obligatorily prepositive EP in the presence of an interrogative pronoun (71a) with an optionally prepositive EP in the presence of a 'heavily accented' subject pronoun (71b):

(71 a)	<i>ta=šamdánja</i>	<i>tis=ta</i>	<i>álakse</i>
	the=candlesticks	who=them	change-AOR-3sg
	Who changed the candlesticks?		

(71b)	<i>oyó=ta</i>	<i>álaksa</i>
	I=them	change-AOR-1sg
	I changed them.	

The regular postposition of the EPs *vis-à-vis* the verb has led to **(p.385)** their partial grammaticalization in Cappadocian. Several pieces of evidence can be adduced to show that the Cappadocian EPs were on their way to becoming pronominal suffixes. The first of these has to do with the breaching of the 'rule of limitation' (Janse 1995-6: 155-6): in the case of *ksévalen=čin* and *éplinen=čin* in (70a), the enclitic accent is omitted from the verb, suggesting that *čin* was no longer felt to be a clitic. Interestingly, both types appear to be interchangeable, as in the following pair from the same text from Faraşa (Dawkins 1916: 558):

(72a) *ésirén-ta*

(72b) *ésiren-ta*
 shoot-AOR-3sg=it
 He shot it.

Elsewhere I have ventured to call this phenomenon ‘agglutination’ (1998c: 530) to distinguish it from true affixation or ‘fusion’ (1998c: 535).¹⁸⁴ Sometimes the lack of an enclitic accent in cases like (72b) caused the erstwhile EP to be reinterpreted as a true suffix in that the rule of limitation was unconsciously applied. The following example, which was taken from the same text as (72a-b), illustrates the phenomenon (Dawkins 1916: 558):

(72c) *esíre=me*
 shoot-AOR-3sg=me
 He shot me.

Fusion of erstwhile EPs is not a case of extension but rather of ‘reanalysts’, a technical term defined by Harris and Campbell as a ‘mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic pattern and which does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation’ (1995: 50). In the case of (72c), the order of the erstwhile EP *vis-à-vis* the noun has remained the same, but the former is now treated as a pronominal suffix rather than an EP. Reanalysis is also responsible for the (regular) deletion of unaccented initial *e-* in *píren=čín* and *píken=čín* in (70a).¹⁸⁵ The process can be represented as follows:

(73a) *épíren=čín→epíren-čín→píren-čín*
(p.386)
 (73b) *épíken=čín→epíken-čín→píken-čín*

The final piece of evidence of the grammaticalization of the erstwhile EPs comes from the use of *ta*, formally a third person plural EP, as the unmarked object agreement marker for the third person singular and plural.¹⁸⁶ The *ta* in (72a-b), for instance, has a singular referent. The use of doubled EPs as object agreement markers is obligatory in Cappadocian, as in the following examples from Silli (74a) (Dawkins 1916:286) and Telmisos (75a) (Dawkins 1916:314):

(74a)	<i>eyó</i>	<i>séna</i>	<i>filáttu=se</i>
	I	you	guard-PRES-1sg=you
	I will guard you.		

(75a)	<i>eyó</i>	<i>séna</i>	<i>dilévo=se</i>
	I	you	feed-PRES-1sg. =you
	I will feed you		

The word order of both utterances is SOV, which is the basic word order in Turkish.¹⁸⁷ Compare, for instance, the Turkish translations of (74a) and (75a):

(74b)	<i>ben</i>	<i>seni</i>	<i>kor-uyorum</i>
	I	you	guard-PRES-1sg
	I will guard you.		
(75b)	<i>ben</i>	<i>semi</i>	<i>ye-dir-iyorum</i>
	I	you	eat-CAUS-PRES-1sg
	1 will feed you.		

It would seem, then, that the word order of the Cappadocian examples (74a) and (75a) is calqued on the Turkish. What sets Cappadocian apart, however, is the use of doubled EPs as object agreement markers. The same phenomenon occurs in the closely related Pontic dialect (Drettas 1997: 251):

(76a)	<i>Eγώ</i>	<i>avút</i>	<i>to=korits</i>	<i>αγαπό-ato</i>
	I	that	the=girl	love-PRES-1sg=her

(76b)	<i>ben</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>kızı</i>	<i>siv- iyorum</i>
	I	that	girl	love-PRES-1sg
	I love that girl.			

(p.387) It will be recalled that Cappadocia ('Magna Cappadocia') and Pontus ('Cappadocia Pontica') used to be one before the Persian conquest. In fact the similarities between Cappadocian and Pontic are such that Dawkins concluded that 'they must be regarded as having at one time formed a continuous linguistic area' (1916: 205). In Pontic, however, the erstwhile EPs have developed into full-fledged pronominal suffixes functioning as object agreement markers.¹⁸⁸ Whereas the Cappadocian EPs are prepositive *vis-à-vis* the verb in a number of syntactic contexts, Pontic must have generalized postposition at one point before reanalysing the EPs as pronominal suffixes.

Remarkably, the Turkish Black Sea dialects have in their turn been heavily influenced by Pontic.¹⁸⁹ Whereas Turkish normally omits the pronoun if it can be inferred from the context or situation,¹⁹⁰ the Black Sea dialects not only use non-emphatic pronouns on the analogy of the Greek EPs, but they are usually postpositive *vis-à-vis* the verb on the analogy of the Pontic pattern as well, as in the following example from Çaykara (Brendemoen 1993: 55):¹⁹¹

(77)	<i>yap-ti-ler=oni</i>	<i>burda</i>	<i>eski-ler</i>	<i>yap-ti=oni</i>
	Make-PAST-pl=it	here	old-pl	make-PAST=it

<i>İki</i>	<i>uç</i>	<i>kişi</i>	<i>yap-ti=oni</i>
two	three	person	make-PAST = it
They have made it [sc. the mosque] here, the ancients have made it. two-three people have made it.			

It is generally assumed that Turkish did not spread among the Pontians until the seventeenth century, although Turkish tribes started penetrating Pontus from the middle of the thirteenth.¹⁹² One possible explanation for Pontic interference in Black Sea Turkish is that, being numerically inferior, it was the Turks who became bilingual, not the Pontians.¹⁹³ However one may wish to explain the interference in these Turkish dialects, it will be clear that one **(p.388)** cannot simply assume that ‘it is the social context, not the structure of the language involved, that determines the direction and the degree of interference’ and that ‘Turkish influenced Greek in Asia Minor because it was the Greeks who were under cultural pressure and (therefore) the Greeks who became bilingual’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 19).

Most if not all of the Greek-speaking Cappadocians were indeed bilingual,¹⁹⁴ so there may have been no need for the Cappadocian Turks to learn Greek. But the social and cultural relations were not always as straightforward as Thomason and Kaufman assume, as the following testimony of a Cappadocian refugee from Mutaḷaṣki shows (Devletoglou 1983 [1955]: 99):

(78) *Με τους Τούρκους της πατρίδας μας περνούσαμε καλά. Ήσαν φτωχοί και τους ταίρναμε στις δουλειές μας. Τους πληρώναμε για ό,τι μας έκαναν.
'Ημασταν κύριοι κι ήσαν δούλοι, Και οι Έλληνες και οι Αρμεναίοι ήσαν πλούσιοι. Οι Τούρκοι έτρωγαν από μας. Κυρίους μας έλεαν.*

With the Turks of our country we got on very well. They were poor and we took them into our employment. We paid them for what they did for us. We were masters and they were servants. And the Greeks and the Armenians were rich. The Turks ate from us. Masters they called us.

5. Conclusion

Although the concept of *βαρβαρόφων ἰα* ‘speaking bad Greek’ has been applied to the translation Greek of the LXX and could have been applied to the Greek of the Cappadocians, the two varieties are complete opposites. Hebrew interference in the LXX is due to a translation technique, typical of religious translations, which is at once calqued and word-for-word to produce a mimetic text. As a result, interference is almost limited to lexical and syntactic extension. Although syntactic extension has been the focus of the three case studies, lexical extension has been exemplified as well, e.g. the use of *χεῖλος* instead *γλῶσσα* in the sense of ‘language’ as a calqued translation of *לִשָּׁנָה* *śāpâ* ‘lip’ in (1) and (2). Syntactic extension in the LXX stems from the word-for-word principle, which was connected with God’s commandment quoted in (16), Interference in the linear word order or in the omission or insertion of words which **(p.389)** would be unidiomatic in Greek is not determined by unconscious mental processes associated with bilingualism, but dictated by a conscious translation technique. If the language of the LXX can indeed be qualified as ‘good κοινή Greek’ (Thackeray 1909: 13) because of its drawing from the lexical and grammatical resources of the Egyptian κοινή, especially in the case of the Pentateuch (Swete 1914: 20), this is not tantamount to saying that it can be considered representative of the spoken or even written language of its time in every respect.

Deviations from the Hebrew word order, however, could in principle be interpreted as unconscious interference from the target language. A typical example is the preposition of EPs where the Hebrew *Vorlage* has suffixes. But even in such cases extreme caution is warranted, since many alleged Semitisms have turned out to be ‘good κοινή Greek’ after all, as research since Deissman (1895–7) has shown. It may be useful to stress the importance of a historical perspective at this point. The grammaticalization of postposed EPs in Cappadocian and Pontic, for instance, proves that postposition must have been the unmarked order once, which in turn sheds new light on the LXX usage.

Judging by the words of Kontosopoulos, the *βαρβαρόφωνία* of the Cappadocian Greeks could almost be interpreted as ‘speaking a foreign language’: *όποιος ακούει ... την καππαδοκική διάλεκτο, δεν ξέρει αν έχει να κάνει με τουρκικά σε ελληνικό στόμα ή με ελληνικά σε στόμα τούρκικο* ‘whoever hears ... the Cappadocian dialect does not know whether he has to do with Turkish spoken by a Greek or with Greek spoken by a Turk’ (Kontosopoulos 1994: 7). Language maintenance under strong cultural pressure and long-term bilingualism has resulted in unconscious ‘heavy’ interference on every level, producing a *γλῶσσα μεμιγμένη* in the literal sense of a ‘mixed language’. The technical term to be applied to the Cappadocian case is code-mixing, since the Greek and Turkish ‘codes’ are really mixed to produce a unique contact language ‘over the border of nongenetic development’ (Thomason and Kaufman 1988: 94).

The contrast between the translation Greek of the LXX and the mixed language of the Cappadocians could not be better expressed than by juxtaposing two earlier quotations. The first of these applies to the Jew who shifted his language: 'Ελληνικὸς ἦν οὐ τῇ διαλέκτῳ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ ψυχῇ 'he was a Greek, not only in his language, but **(p.390)** in his spirit as well' (Clearn. fr. 6),¹⁹⁵ the second to the Cappadocian who maintained his language: το σῶμα ἐμεινε ελληνικό, μα η ψυχὴ ψυχὴ [ἔχει γίνει] τουρκικὴ 'the body has remained Greek, but the soul has become Turkish' (Anastasiadis 1975: 159).¹⁹⁶ **(p.391)**

Notes:

(1) Hebrew text is transliterated in accordance with the American SBL (Society of Biblical Literature) standard.

(2) On the historical importance of this passage (including the identification of the peoples mentioned and the etymology of τριχᾶκες) cf. Russo (1992) 83–4.

(3) Cf. Heath (1004) 393.

(4) Cf. Hdt. 2. 125, 154; Xen. An. 1. 2. 17; 5. 4. 4.

(5) Strabo (14. 2. 28) already noted that βάρβαρος is an onomatopoe meaning 'babbling, gibbering, jabbering'. The word is related to Sanskrit *barbara-*, which has the same meaning (Mayrhofer 1986–: ii. 217–18; cf. Frisk 1954–73: 219–20; Chantraine 1968–80: 164–5). A modern parallel comes from Asturia: the local dialect is considered to be a separate language by the Academia de la Llingua Asturiana, but the Spaniards call it *bable*.

(6) φωναὶ βάρβαροι: cf. Aesch. Ag. 1051; Plato Prot. 341c; γλῶσσαι βάρβαροι: cf. Soph. Aj. 1263; Hdt. 2. 57; Strabo 14. 2. 28.

(7) In Indo-European languages the concept of 'language' is most commonly expressed by words for the tongue, only rarely by words for the lips (Buck 1949: 1260). The use of χεῖλος and its derivatives is restricted to the Septuagint and quotations from the Septuagint in the New Testament. In each case χεῖλος translates לֵשׁ *śāpā* 'lip', as in the passages quoted in (1), (2), and (8).

(8) Interestingly, לֵשׁ *la'az* means 'foreign (non-Hebrew) language' in Modern Hebrew (Baltsan 1992: 215 s.v.).

(9) This is not to say, of course, that 'foreigner talk' in Greek literature could not be genuine. Compare, for instance, Innocent (1998) on the βαρβαροφωνία of the Phrygian in Timotheus' *Persae* who is characterized as 'Ελλάδ' ἐμπλέκων Ἀσιάδι φωνᾷ 'entwining the Greek with the Asiatic language' (158–9).

(10) Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 35 ff.; Hock (1991) 380 ff.; Harris and Campbell (1995) 120 ff.; Hock and Joseph (1996) 367 ff.; Trask (1996) 308 ff.; Crowley (1997) 255 ff.; Lass (1997) 184 ff.; Campbell (1998) 57 ff., 299 ff.; Sihler (2000) 176 ff.

(11) A very similar version of the story is given by Josephus (*AJ* 12. 2. 1 ff.).

(12) Cf. Luke 23: 38 (κ*.^c A C D W Θ (Ψ) 0250^f¹⁽¹³⁾ (33) ℣), but compare *γράμμασι λέγον τάδε* (Thuc. 6. 54. 7), which is said of an inscription.

(13) Cf. Sáenz-Badillos (1993) 112–13, 161 ff.; Elwolde (1994) 1539.

(14) Cf. Beyer (1994) 46; Brock (1994 *a*) 541.

(15) A telling example is the use of ἑβραϊς διάλεκτος in the sense of ‘Aramaic language’ (Acts 21: 40; 22: 2; 26: 14).

(16) Cf. Sáenz-Badillos (1993) 167ff., esp. 170–1; Snkoloff (1994) 1815. The importance of Aramaic as a lingua franca is borne out by the Aramaic parts of the Bible. Aramaic is the language used by the astrologers to address the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar (*Dan.* 2: 4 ff.), and correspondence with the Persian king Artaxerxes is maintained in Aramaic as well. The Hebrew term for Aramaic is אֲרָמִית *‘ārāmîṭ* which is translated as συριστί in the LXX.

(17) Cf. Swete (1914) 15 ff.

(18) *Pace* Swete (1914) 290.

(19) *Jos.* *AJ* 19. 5. 2; *Ap.* 2. 4; *BJ* 2. 18. 7.

(20) Acts 9: 29 A 424 *pc*; 11: 20 *P*⁷⁴ κ² A D*.

(21) Cf. Thackeray (1909) 28.

(22) Cf. Thackeray (1909) 28; Swete (1914) 8–9; Tabachowitz (1956) 7; Sevenster (1968) 84; Olofsson (1990) 33. This is also suggested by Ptolemy’s justification of the translation in his letter to Eleazar: βουλομένων δ’ ἡμῶν καὶ τοῦτοις ἡρῶμεθα καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην Ἰουδαίοις καὶ τοῖς μετέπειτα ‘since I am anxious to show my gratitude to these men [sc. the Alexandrian Jews] and to the Jews throughout the world and to the generations yet to come’ (Aristeas 38).

(23) Discussions over the quality of Biblical Greek focused especially on the language of the New Testament (Norden 1909): 512 ff.; Vergote 1938; 1321 ff.; Voelz 1984: 895 ff.)

(24) Phld. *Rh.* 1. 159 (cf. Plut. *Mor.* 731–2; Luc. *Vit. Auct.* 23). It is worth of note, however, that Apollonius Dyscolus explicitly distinguishes βαρβαρισμός ‘incorrectness in the use of words’ from σολουικισμός ‘incorrectness in the construction of sentences’ (*Synt.* 198. 8).

(25) Cf. Vergote (1938) 1323–3; Voelz (1984) 897 ff.

(26) The fact that the language of the Alexandrian Pentateuch has been identified as belonging to the Egyptian and not to the Syro-Palestinian κοινή disproves the account given in the letter of Aristeas, viz. that the translation was carried out by Palestinian Jews from Jerusalem (Swete 1914: 20).

(27) Jos. *BJI.* 3; *Ap.* 1. 50.

(28) Cf. Moulton and Turner (1963) 8.

(29) Cf. Ncube (1996–7) 915.

(30) When Ptolemy asks Demetrius why no one had ever undertaken a translation of the Hebrew Scriptures, Demetrius replies: διὰ τὸ σεμνὴν εἶναι τὴν νομοθεσίαν καὶ διὸ θεοῦ γεγονέναι ‘because the Law is sacred and of divine origin’ (Aristeas 313).

(31) Even today, Jewish boys are called up to the reading of the Law in Biblical Hebrew at their bar mitzvah. Another parallel comes from Islam, where the Koran is still read in Classical Arabic, even in countries where Arabic is not spoken.

(32) Tabachowitz is of the opinion that Philo’s exposition of the Pentateuch shows ‘dass er jedem Worte der griechischen Übersetzung religiösen Wert beimisst’ (1956: 9; cf. Swete 1914: 29).

(33) Cf. Swete (1914) 29.

(34) Cf. Moulton and Turner (1963) 8; Vermes (1995) 11.

(35) Cf. Gesenius and Kautzsch (1909) 477; Hetzron (1987) 702; Joüon and Muraoka (1996) 579–80. In this context it may be noted that the position of adjectives, demonstratives, and genitives *vis-à-vis* the noun is a typological correlate of VSO word order (Greenberg 1963 *b*: 85–6; Comrie 1989: 95 ff.).

(36) Cf. Helbing (1928) 43–4, 300–1.

(37) Cf. Goetze (1957) 67 ff.; Orlin (1970) 73 ff.

(38) Cf. Goetze (1957) 68–9; Orlin (1970) 184 ff.; Tischler (1995) 395 ff.

(39) Cf. Goetze (1957) 45 ff.; Tischler (1995) 362 Alp (1997) 38 ff.

- (40) Cf. Goetze (1957) 82 ff.
- (41) Cf. Goetze (1957) 200 ff.
- (42) Cf. Frye (1984) 87 ff.; Weiskopf (1989–90) 780 ff.
- (43) Cf. Bartholomae (1904) 434. Ttschler (1977: 72) argues for an Anatolian (Hittite) origin of the name. For discussion of the ancient sources cf. Franck (1966) 5 ff.; Schmitt (1976–80) 399–400.
- (44) Cf. Robert (1963) 519; Weiskopf (1989–90) 782 ff.
- (45) Cf. Weiskopf (1989–90) 784.
- (46) Cf. Holl (1908) 240; Vryonis (1971) 42; Bubeník (1989) 277.
- (47) Cf. Jones (1940) 40 ff., 289 ff.; Vryonis (1971) 44–5; Brixhe (1987*a*) 11.
- (48) Cf. Schmitt(1980) 196 ff.
- (49) Cf. Neumann (1980) 172; Lüddeckens (1980) 247; Rössler (1980) 273.
- (50) Quoted by Josephus (*Ap.* 1. 22; cf. Ettseb, *PE* 9. 5).
- (51) Cf. Bubeník (1989) 172, 230, 240.
- (52) Cf. Thumb (1901) 103; Dawkins (1916) 2; Vryonis (1971) 47–8; Neumann (1980) 174 ff.; Bubeník (1989) 277.
- (53) Cf. Holl (1908) 248; Vryonis (1971) 47.
- (54) Cf. Holl (1908) 249.
- (55) Cf. Bauer, Aland, and Aland (1988) 301. In the second epistle to Timothy, Γαλλία found as a variant reading for Γαλατία in a number of manuscripts (4: 10 κ C 81. 104. 326 *pe* vg^{8t.ww} sa bo^{Pt}; Eus Epiph).
- (56) Cf. Holl (190X) 248–9; Weisgerber (1931) 151 If.; Jones (1940) 290; Mitchell (1993) 50–1.
- (57) Cf. Neumann (1980) 172.
- (58) The emporium of Pessinus, on the other hand, had a temple of the indigenous mother goddess Cybele, called *Agdistis* by the Galatians (Strabo 12. 5. 2).
- (59) Cf. Holl (1908) 243; Jones (1940) 289; *pace* Vryonis (1971) 46 n. 231.
- (60) Cf. Hdt. 2. 104; 3. 90; 5. 40.

(61) This may also explain why Eusebius of Caesarea (c.AD 260–339) reads *Συρίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν* instead of *Ἰουδαίαν τε καὶ Καππαδοκίαν* in the passage quoted in (20). Also worthy of note is the fact that Tertullian (c.AD 100–240) and Augustine (AD 354–430) read *Armeniam quoque et Cappadociam* instead of *Iudaeam quoque et Cappadociam* ad loc.

(62) Kutscher (1977 *b* [1971] 347 ff.; Kaufman (1974) 7 ff., 22–3; Beyer (1984) 23 ff.; (1994) 13 ff.

(63) Kutscher (1977 *b* [1971]) 361 ff.; Sokoloff (1994) 1815; cf. Neumann (1980) 172.

(64) Neumann (1980) 182; Dawkins (1916) 193 ff.

(65) Cf. Neumann (1980) 172.

(66) Cf. Gen. 15: 20; Exod. 3: 8, 17; 13: 5; 23: 3 ft., 23, 28; 25: 9, 10; 26: 34; 33: 2; 34: 11; Num. 13: 29; Deut. 7: 1; 20: 7. In fact, the **חֵתִים** *ittîm* are also called **בְּנוֹת חֵת** *benôt ^hēt* ‘sons of Heth’ (Gen. 23: 3), and as such they are the (grand)children of Canaan (Gen. 10: 15), and the (great) grandchildren of Ham (Gen. 10: 6), eponym of the Hamitic languages (Gen. 10: 20).

(67) Cf. (Gesenius and Buhl (1915) 268.

(68) Sawyer (1994) 295.

(69) Zgusta (1984) 356–7; cf. Bartholomae (1904) 1156.

(70) Cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2. 42. 2 ff.; Cass. Dio 57. 17.

(71) Cf. Neumann (1980) 172; Frye (1984) 88; Lemaire and Lozachmeur (1996) 91 ff.

(72) Cf. Thumb (1901) 133 ff.; Bubenik (1989) 276 ff.

(73) Cf. Neumann (1980) 180–1.

(74) Brixhe (1987*a*) 11; Thumb (1901) 103.

(75) Cf. Vryonis (1971) 48.

(76) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 196–7.

(77) Cf. Vryonis (1971) 95.

(78) Quoted by Dawkins (1916) 1. n. 1.

(79) The full bilingualism of the Cappadocians is evidenced most eloquently by their response (in Turkish) to the arrival of the Greek troops in Asia Minor: *τζενδέμ αλσούν, γκελέμεζλερ*, i.e. *cendem olsun, gelemezler* 'Let them go to hell, they cannot come!' (Iosiphidis 1983 [1962]: 62). The peaceful coexistence between the Cappadocians and the Turks can be illustrated by the following poignant testimony of one of the Cappadocian refugees after the population exchange between Greece and Turkey following the Treaty of Lausanne (1923): *κλάψανε οι Τούρκοι, οι δικοί μας οι Τούρκοι* 'They wept, the Turks, *our* Turks' (Papagrigoriadis 1983 [1956]: 75). Another refugee had this to say: *πως να πούμε "ο Τούρκος είναι κακός"*; 'How can we say "Turks are had"?' (Zachariadi 1983 [1955]: 50).

(80) Cf. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 93–4, 215–16.

(81) Cf. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 75–6.

(82) Neither ethnicity nor religion had anything to do with language, as appears from the following testimony from a Turkish-speaking refugee from Kitsağaz: *Θυμάμαι που ήρθαν οι Τούρκοι πρόσφυγες, Ελληνικά μιλούσανε και δεν τους καταλαβαίναμε. Λέγανε οι παλιοί Τούρκοι "Τούρκοι φεύγουν κι Έλληνες έρχονται"* 'I remember the Turkish refugees coming. Greek they spoke and we did not understand them. The old Turks said: "The Turks are going and the Greeks are coming"' (Kekili 1983 [1953]: 224). The 'Turkish refugees' must have been Greek-speaking Muslims (Cretans, for instance).

(83) The use of *καλά* in the testimony of Chinitzidis is interesting: the Cretans spoke 'good' Greek, but he could not understand them anyway!

(84) Cf. Bechert and Wildgen (1991) 65; Hock and Joseph {1996} 381.

(85) It may be noted that McCormick, who juxtaposes both terms in the title of his article (1994), does not distinguish between code-switching and code-mixing.

(86) Cf. Gesenius and Kautzsch (1909) 465 ff.; Waltke and O'Connor (1990) 330 ff.; Joüon and Muraoka (1996) 118–19, 536–7.

(87) Cf. Waltke and O'Connor (1990) 333–4; Joüon and Muraoka (1996) 594 ff.

(88) Cf. Thackeray (1909) 46; Swete (1914) 307–8.

(89) Cf. Bakker (1974) 33–4; Soisalon-Sointnen (1987 [1977]) 60.

(90) Cf. Blass and Debrunner (1979) 246.

(91) Cf. Touratier (1980) 241 ff.; Lehmann (1984) 261 ff.

(92) Cf. Bakker (1974) 39.

(93) Cf. Lewis (1967) 163 ff., 260 ff.; (2000) 165–6; Kornfilt (1997) 57 ff.

(94) *Pace* Lewis (1967) 163 n. 1.

(95) Cf. Lewis (1967) 240; (2000) 237; Kornfilt (1987) 636; (1997) 91.

(96) The following abbreviations are used: ACC=accusative, AOR=aorist, CAUS=causative, DEM demonstrative, GEN=genitive, IPF= imperfect, NEG=negative, NOM= nominative, PART-participle, pl=plural, PRES= present, PRT=particle, REL=relative marker, _{sg} =singular. The double hyphen (=) marks the attachment of clitics, a simple hyphen (-) the attachment of affixes. It should be noted that the interpretation of Modern Greek *pu* as a (pro)clitic is not generally accepted (for discussion see Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton 1987: 216). The Turkish translations are provided by my near-native speaker informant Johan Vandewalle.

(97) Cf. Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warbuton (1997) 341.

(98) Cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 24; Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warbuton (1997) 440.

(99) Cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 23; Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warbuton (1997) 440; Kornfilt (1997) 57; Janse (1999 6) 453.

(100) It should be noted that intervocalic *k* regularly becomes *ğ* (Lewis 1967: 5; 2000: 10), and that the rules of vowel harmony apply as well (Lewis 1907; 17–18; 2000: 14–15).

(101) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 127; Mavrochalividis and Kesissoelou (1960) 90.

(102) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 176; Anastasiadis (1976) 168.

(103) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 203; Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 219–20.

(104) Cf. Lewis (1967) 25; (2000) 23; Kornfilt (1997) 270, 291.

(105) Cf. Jannaris (1897) 166; Monteil (1963) 21 ff.; 67ff. The term *ὑποτακτικὸν ἄρθρον* ‘postpositive article’ is Alexandrian (Ap. Dysc. *Synt.* 9. 3, 68. 4–5, 116. 9 ff., 189. 11, etc.).

(106) Cf. Jannaris (1897) 353; Monteil (1963) 80 ff.

(107) Cf. Anasrnsiadis (1976) 169–70.

(108) Cf. Chantraine (1958) 277; Monteil (1963) 21 ff.

(109) Cf. Schwyzer (1950) 610; Anastasiadis (1976) 170.

(110) Cf. Bakker (1974)95–6.

(111) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 201-2; Ancrriotis (1948) 48-9; Kesisoglou (1951) 51-2; Mavrochalividis and Kesisoglou (1960) 90; Anastasiadis (1976) 176.

(112) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 457.

(113) Cf. Thumb (1910) 192; Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 20; Holton, Mackridge, and Philippaki-Warburton (1997) 439.

(114) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 458.

(115) Cf. Kornfilt (1997) 109.

(116) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 460.

(117) Cf. Kühner and Gerth (1898) i. 596-7.

(118) Cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warburton (1987) 50, 218.

(119) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 460.

(120) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 147, 192.

(121) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 457.

(122) Cf. Janse (1999*b*) 460.

(123) Cf. Schwyzer (1939) 717; Chantraine (1968-80) 1183; Janse (1999*a*) 137-8.

(124) Cf. Gesenius and Kautesch (1909) 147 ff., 151 ff.; Joüon and Muraoka (1996) 151 ff., 160 ff.

(125) Cf. Janse (1999*a*) 134.

(126) Cf. Gesenius and Buhl (1915) 226.

(127) Cf. Comrie (1989) 167.

(128) Cf. Newmeyer (1986) 91 ff.

(129) Cf. Janse (1990 *a*) 93.

(130) Cf. Janse (1999*a*) 141.

(131) Cf. Schwyzer (1950) 233-4.

(132) Cf. Kühne (1882) 19 ff.; Schwyzer (1939) 754 ff.; (1950) 71.

(133) Cf. Kühne (1882) 6 ff.

- (134) Cf. Moulton and Howard (1929) 393 ff.; Mayser (1936) 141-2, and compare Debrunner (1917) 99 ff.
- (135) Cf. Janse (1999a) 140.
- (136) Cf. Moulton and Howard (1929) 406 ff.; Mayser (1936) 145 ff.; and compare Debrunner (1917) 116, 127 ff.
- (137) Cf. Janse (1999a) 140-1.
- (138) Cf. Kühne (1882) 3 ff.; Schwyzer (1950) 71 ff.
- (139) Cf. Janse (1999a) 142.
- (140) Cf. Tov (1999 b [1982]; 198-9; Janse (1999a) 142-3; and compare Helbing (1907) 117 ff.
- (141) Cf. Gesenius and Kautzsch (1909) 144; Joüon and Muraoka (1996) 151.
- (142) Cf. Janse (1999a) 144.
- (143) Cf. Tov (1999 b [1982]) 199-200
- (144) Cf. Tov (1999 b [1982]) 200-1; Janse (1999a) 145-6.
- (145) Cf. Lewis (1967) 144; (2000) 147; Kornfilt (1997) 331 ff.
- (146) Cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 170.
- (147) Cf. Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 171.
- (148) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 636 s.v. ποιέω
- (149) , Cf. Anastasiadis (1975) 166; Thomason and Kaufman (1988) 216.
- (150) Cf. Anastasiadis (1980a) 325.
- (151) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 664 s.v. *aramaq*.
- (152) Cf. Miklostch (1890) 8, *pace* Dawkins (1916) 42 n. 1. For the Turkish formation see Lewis (1967) 127; (2000) 128; Kornfilt (1997) 337-8.
- (153) Cf. Watkins (1962) 90 ff., 93-6; (1969) 18; Joseph (1980) 182; Collinge (1985) 239-40; Koch (1994) 31 ff.
- (154) Cf. Mackridge (1985) 106.
- (155) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 135-6.

(156) Cf. Browning (1983) 65, 84, 90, for Medieval CI reck, and Mackridge (11)851 323, for Modern Creek.

(157) Cf. Mackridge (1985) 163 ff.; Joseph and Philippaki-Warbuton (1987) 192 if.; Holton. Maekridge, anil Philippuki-Warbuton (1997) 127 ff.

(158) The forms are given in the following order: Turkish past tense → Cappadocian aorist subjunctive→Cappadocian present indicative. The Cappadocian verbs quoted are all in *-izo*, hut variants in *-á < -áo* are generally attested as well (Dawkins 1916: 129; Anastasiadis 1980 *a*: 325).

(159) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 664 ff.; Ivesisoelou (1951) 109 ff.; Mavrochalividis and Kesisoglou (1960) 130 If.; Fosteris and Kesisoglou (1960) 17 ff.; Anastasiadis (1980 *b*) 99–100.

(160) Cf. Lewis (1967) 228: (2000) 227.

(161) Cf. Dimkins (1916) 130; Lewis (1967) 145; < 2000) 147–8

(162) *ψοφώ* is indeed used in the testimony of Seralimidou, a Cappadocian refugee from Zincidere; *Mas έφεραν πρόσφυγες Τούρκους. Έσαν αδύνατοι και χειριασμένοι ... Δεν έζησαν εκείνοι πιά. Όλοι πέθαναν. ψόφησαν* ‘They brought us Turkish refuuces. They were weak anil injured ... They were barely alive. They all died. They penned out’ (1983 [1954]: 68)

(163) Cf. Wilkins (1996) 113.

(164) Cf. Beehert and Wildgen (1995) 65; Hock and Joseph (1996) 381.

(165) Cf. Gesenius and Kautzseh (1991) 66; Joüon and Muraoka (1996)0 58.

(166) A well-known example including three consecutive proclitics is the following; *’et-kol-’āšer* ‘every thing which [was] his’ (Gen. 25: 5). The LXX has *πάντα τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτοῦ*.

(167) Cf. Gesenius and Kautzsch (lyoy) 102 ff., 205 ff., 532 if.; Joiion and Muraoka (1996) 170 ff., 285 ff., 660–1, 686–7.

(168) Cf. Riff (1933) 247; Wifstrand (1949) 182.

(169) Cf. Janse (1993 *b*) 87 ff.; (1995) 102 ft., 171 ff.

(170) Cf. Rife (1933) 247.

(171) Cf. Moulton and Howard (1929) 431; Moulton and Turner (1963) 38; Blass and Debrunner (1979) 229.

(172) Cf. Collinge (1985) 217 ff.

(173) Cf. Janse (1990 *b*) 2648; (1993*a*) 21; (1993*b*) 95 ff.; (1995) 113 ff.

(174) It may be noted that לֹא *we-lô* should have been translated as *καὶ οὐκ*, as in (16), instead of *οὐτε* (*μή*) in (67*b*), לֹא being a prefix and לֹא *lô* a proclitic.

(175) Note also the alternative techniques to render הִרְבִּיחַ *hirbîha* ‘make plentiful’: *πληθύνω* in (65) vs. *πλεονατσόν ποιέω* in (68).

(176) Cf. Wifstrand (1949–50) 69; Janse (1995) 197 ff.

(177) Cf. Swete (1914) 20.

(178) Cf. Lewis (1967) 23–4; Kornfilt (1997) 286, 435.

(179) Cf. Lewis (1967) 68; (2000) 65; Kornfilt (1997) 281 ff.

(180) Cf. Lewis (1967) 240; (2000) 237; Kornfilt (1987) 636; (1997) 91.

(181) Cf. Thumb (1910) 82 n. 1; Dawkins (1916) 120; Andrintis (1948) 48; Kesisoulou (1951) 50–1; Mavrochalividis and Kesisoylou (1960) 89; Mirambel (1963) 98; Anastasiadis (1976) 140; Janse (1994 *a*) 435f.; (1998*a*) 260; (1998*c*) 525.

(182) Cf. Janse (1993 *b*) 119; (1998*a*) 264; and compare Thumb (1914) 199; Dawkins (1916) 214; Contossopoulos (1983–4) 152.

(183) Cf. Janse (1994 *a*) 436 ff.; (1998*a*) 261 ff.

(184) Cf. Haspelmath (1994) 1.

(185) Cf. Janse (1998*c*) 537, and compare Dawkins (1916) 138.

(186) Cf. Janse (1998*c*) 539 and compare Dawkins (1916) 172.

(187) Cf. Lewis (1967) 240; (2000) 237; Kornfilt (1987) 636; (1997) 91.

(188) Cf. Drettas (1997) 393.

(189) Cf. Brendemoen (1998) 27ff.; (1999) 365 ff.

(190) Cf. Lewis (1967) 68; (2000) 65; Brendemoen (1993) 51; Kornfilt (1997) 281 ff.

(191) Among either interference features in the Turkish Black Sea dialects the backing of /*ü*/ > /*u*/ and the fronting of /*i*/ > /*y*/ are worthy of note (Brendemoen 1999: 369), e.g. *üç uç* (and *yaplı yapti* in (77)).

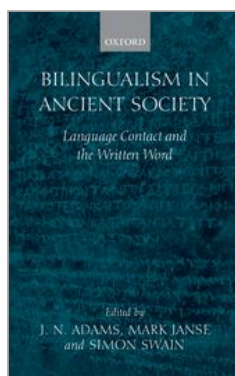
(192) Cf. Brendemoen (1999) 305–6.

(193) Cf. Brendemoen (1999) 366.

(194) Cf. Dawkins (1916) 10 ff.

(195) Quoted by *Jos. Ap.* 1. 22 (cf. Euseb. *PE* 9. 5).

(196) After Dawkins (1916) 198.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Assessing Latin-Gothic Interaction

PHILIP BURTON

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Abstract and Keywords

The 6th-century Codex Argenteus provides most of the current information on Gothic. George Washington Salisbury Friedrichsen, in his work of 1926, made two important claims: first, that all the Gothic Gospels, but especially that of Luke, had been heavily influenced by the Latin versions; and second, that a putative Latin-Gothic text that he called the 'Palatinian Bilingual' had mediated both the Latin Codex Palatinus *e* and the Gothic Codex Argenteus. This chapter examines Friedrichsen's thesis and argues that Codex Palatinus does not represent a Gothicised tradition. It also does not agree that Codex Argenteus reflects a 'Palatinian bilingual' of the type posited by Friedrichsen. However, it recognises the possibility that Codex Argenteus represents a Latinised tradition.

Keywords: Latin, Gothic, Codex Argenteus, Codex Palatinus, George Washington Salisbury Friedrichsen, Gospels, Palatinian Bilingual

THE first Latin-Gothic bilingual speaker we know of is none other than Wulfila, the original translator of the Gothic Bible, who, according to his pupil Auxentius, *Grecam et Latinam et Gothicam lin-guam sine intermissione in una et sola dei ecclesia predicavit ... qui et ipsis tribus linguis plures tractatus et multas interpretationes ... post se dereliquit*.¹ Auxentius' presentation is schematic and his tone is more one of hyperbole than of understatement, but we should be reluctant to disbelieve a writer so close to the events he describes; at the least, we should allow Wulfila some knowledge of Latin.

Our other knowledge of early Latin-Gothic language contact is slight. The Latin loanwords in the Gothic Bible offer an interesting archaeology of Latin-Gothic relations. Some are pan-Germanic, such as *kaupon* ‘to buy’, *asilus* ‘ass’, *katile* ‘cooking-pot’. Others are more specific to Gothic and probably date to the period at which the Gothic community came into close contact with the Roman administrators of the Danube region: these include *militon* ‘to serve as a soldier’, *sigljan* ‘to seal’, and *karkara* ‘prison’. Much later on, the Naples Gothic texts, written in Ravenna around AD 551, supply us with *kawtsjo* ‘legal document’ (Streitberg 1908: 479).²

In Ostrogothic Italy, we know that at least some élite Romans learnt Gothic. The notably pro-Gothic Cyprian is praised by Cas-siodorus (*Var.* 5. 40. 5) for being *instructus tribus linguis* (presumably Latin, Greek, and Gothic). The king Athalaric singles out his **(p.394)** sons for their linguistic achievements—*pueri stirpis Romanae nostra lingua loquuntur* (*Var.* 8. 21. 8, cf. 8. 22. 5)—which are explicitly tied in with their infancy at court (and taken as a pledge of their future political allegiance); as Moorhead points out (1992: 86), they are presented as exceptions. We might expect the Gothic words in Italian to provide a useful index. In fact, the extent of Italo-Latin borrowing from Gothic is hard to discern, given the variety of possible Germanic sources and the fact that loanwords are often assimilated to native phonology. Thus the Italian *tregua* ‘truce’ offers prima facie the clearest possible example of a Gothic loanword: the Gothic *triggwa* shows a distinctly North-East Germanic development of -ww- to -ggw-, as against Old English (*ge-*)*treowe*, etc. (Baldi 1983: 129). However, it is clear from other sources that Italo-Latin regularly treats Germanic /w/ in this way (as in *guardare*, *quanto*, etc.). Thus even such apparently Gothic words as *tregua* cannot always be identified securely, even if Gothic remains a good hypothesis here.³

For most of our information on Gothic, we are dependent upon the sixth-century Codex Argenteus. This seems to have been written in Italy, probably at Ravenna at the court of Theoderic. It is unclear how far this manuscript preserves the work of Wulfila, and how far its text has been altered in transmission. In particular, it has long been a matter of speculation how far the Gothic text has been influenced by Latin versions of the Scriptures circulating in sixth-century Italy. By ‘Latin versions’ I mean not only the Vulgate of Jerome, but also the ‘Old Latin’ versions; these remained in use long after the publication of the Vulgate.⁴ Conversely, it has also been a matter of speculation what influence, if any, the Gothic version exercised over the Latin versions.

We do possess, or have possessed, two Latin-Gothic bilingual manuscripts. For the Epistles we have palimpsest Codex Carolinus, a fragmentary text of St Paul's Epistle to the Romans in parallel Latin and Gothic versions. For the Gospels, we used to possess the Codex Gissensis, a few fragments of a text of Luke 23-4 discovered in Egypt in 1907 and destroyed during the Second World War. However, this text contained only isolated Gothic words and word-endings. **(p. 395)** It is unlikely that we shall recover any more information from it.

No less important was the discovery made in 1900 by Francis Crawford Burkitt, who established that the sixth-century North Italian Codex Brixianus (*f*) showed that the text of this manuscript had been heavily adapted to the text of the Gothic Bible, as preserved in Codex Argenteus. Presumably, he argued, it derived from a bilingual Latin-Gothic manuscript.

A further development came with George Washington Salisbury Friedrichsen's work of 1926. Friedrichsen made two important claims: first, that all the Gothic Gospels, but especially that of Luke, had been heavily influenced by the Latin versions; and second, that a putative Latin-Gothic text that he called the 'Palatinian Bilingual' had mediated both the Latin Codex Palatinus *e* and the Gothic Codex Argenteus. Friedrichsen's book was a substantial achievement and is still cited; but in this particular matter he did not succeed in convincing scholarly opinion, mainly because of a tendency to lay similar weight on all his evidence, regardless of its strength or weakness.⁵

Further contributions were made by Stutz (1972), who drew attention to certain similarities (discussed below) between the Gothic Epistles and a Latin text-type known to have been current in fifth-century Italy, and by the present author, who in 1996 argued that a fifth-century North Italian palimpsest of an Old Latin version of the Passion narrative of Matthew, known as the Vienna Fragment, was likewise influenced by the Gothic.

After a century of such scholarship some clarification of the basic principles involved is overdue. What is offered here is an attempt in that direction. I propose also to apply these principles, once formulated, to Friedrichsen's theories of 1926. It is true that these theories are not in universal favour. A critical but judicious review by Francis Crawford Burkitt (1927) has been sufficient to dissuade many scholars not only from accepting Friedrichsen's views, but even from attempting to examine them further (see e.g. Stutz 1972: 382; Burton 1996b: 82). Others (e.g. Metzger 1977; Klein 1992), apparently unaware of Burkitt's critique, have accepted Friedrichsen's **(p.396)** views without demur. This schism between the uncritical rejecters and the uncritical accepters is clearly undesirable. In order to analyse the weight of Friedrichsen's argument as a whole, we must do what he did not and attempt to devise some system for identifying and weighing up individual data.

1. A Typology of Similarities

It is a commonplace of studies of ancient translations that similarities between two versions can be divided into two types, shared readings and shared renderings. Shared readings exist where the two versions apparently follow a variant form of the source text; shared renderings exist where the two translations both show the same idiosyncratic rendering of the source text (it is immaterial for this purpose whether they follow a variant text or a *textus receptus*, so long as they both follow the same text). These principles hold good whether the two versions in question are in the same or in different languages.

It is sometimes held that shared readings are at best circumstantial evidence for a link between the two versions in question, whereas shared renderings are truly diagnostic. This is an oversimplification. In the first place, as will be seen, it is not always possible to discern whether a similarity belongs to one class or another. In the second place, shared renderings are themselves not always diagnostic. According to the definition given above, shared renderings rest on the identification of idiosyncratic renderings. This means that their identification is always, to some degree, subjective. The extent of this subjectivity depends on the extent to which we can decide what is idiosyncratic, which in turn depends on two variables: our knowledge of the target language of the translations, and the frequency with which the word or idiom in question appears in the source text. Thus if we were examining renderings of a common Greek verb such as λέγω in two versions in a well-attested language such as Latin, we would be unsurprised if the two versions regularly translated it as *dicere*; but we would consider it an idiosyncrasy if both versions were suddenly to switch to *fari*. If, however, we were examining the rendering of a relatively infrequent Greek word such as πολυπραγμοσύνη in Gothic, we would be quite unable to decide whether the rendering were idiosyncratic or not. The Greek word **(p.397)** is too infrequent in the Scriptures and our knowledge of the range of words available to the Gothic translator is too slight.⁶

It would be truer, therefore, to say that shared renderings offer no more than the *possibility* of diagnostic evidence. The better to understand the relative importance of the various shared renderings, I suggest a fivefold typology for them, as follows:

- (1) *formal correspondence*, where both translations employ formal structures similar to each other but without an obvious model in the Greek;
- (2) *shared interpretation*, where both translations choose a similar interpretation of the original where other interpretations were possible;
- (3) *patterns of rendering*, where both translations employ a range of synonyms for a single Greek word, the distribution of these synonyms being similar;

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- (4) *loan-shift*, including both semantic and syntactic extension, where one translation uses a word or construction in a manner more characteristic of the other translation;
- (5) *under differentiation*, where one translation fails to distinguish between two different words in the other translation.

The definition of these terms will become clearer in their due context, Only the last three of these can be held to be truly diagnostic, and only when a reasonable heap of good examples has been accumulated.

I propose to use this typology to re-examine Friedrichsen's original thesis. As Friedrichsen himself concentrated on the Gospel of Luke, it seems appropriate to follow him in this respect; but illustrations will be taken from elsewhere when appropriate.

2. Shared Readings

Where two versions agree on reflecting a variant reading which is attested in at least some Greek manuscripts, it is easy to trace that similarity back to its Greek source. Thus, Matthew 27: 51 most **(p.398)** Old Latin manuscripts have the veil of the Temple rent into two halves, *in duas partes*. The Vienna Fragment uniquely has it rent simply *in duo*—which corresponds exactly with the Gothic *in twa*. Now this reading, anomalous as it is in comparison with the other Latin versions, simply reflects the usual Greek text.⁷ There are other reasons for supposing the Vienna Fragment to be related to the Gothic text; but this similarity, clear as it is, is quite undiagnostic, owing to the frequency of this reading in the Greek.

At the other extreme, there are cases where similarities between two versions may be explained as the result of their shared following of a variant reading for which there is no Greek attestation at all. The early chapters of Luke furnish some telling examples. Luke 2: 8 (after Burton 1996b: 88-9)

(1) <i>καὶ ποιμένες ἦσαν ... ἀγρυλὸν νύκτες</i>
Erant autem pastores ... uigilantes
pernoctantes <i>Codex Palatinus</i>
jah hairdjos wesun ... þairwakjandans
And shepherds were staying awake (through the night).

Here Friedrichsen pointed out (1926: 175) that the Latin and Gothic versions agree in having the shepherds not ‘out in the fields’, but ‘keeping awake’.⁸ This he saw as evidence of interaction between Latin and Gothic (with a slight preference for Gothic > Latin influence). However, I have suggested that both may rather be derived not from the textus receptus ἀγρυλλοῦντες but from a variant reading ἀγρυπνοῦντες, ‘staying awake’, which fits the sense perfectly and is palaeographically very easy. It is impossible to tell here whether the similarity is the result of interaction between the two versions, or whether the same reading had coincidentally insinuated itself into both traditions separately.

It is easy to see how such examples are readily given more weight than they deserve. There is a genuine similarity between the two versions which cannot simply be explained with reference to any known Greek reading. However, it should be remembered that the Greek texts extant today cannot be expected to preserve the whole (p.399) range of readings that were once current; and hence that it is not surprising if some variants are now only indirectly attested.

At the same time, it would be all too easy simply to imagine a Greek variant to explain away every peculiarity shared by two versions. In order to control this tendency, I make it a rule to posit an unattested variant only in specific circumstances: first, when the hypothetical variant could have arisen from an attested reading in a way that is palaeographically acceptable; second, when the hypothetical variant brings the passage in line with a parallel passage elsewhere in the Gospels; and third, when the hypothetical variant is likely to have arisen as a theological or literary ‘improvement’ on the original.⁹ The most common of these is the first, as seen in example (1); another case occurs at Luke 1: 63:

(2) καὶ αἰτήσας πινακίδιον

et postulans pugillare *vel sim.* most *Latin texts* ille autem petiit pugillaris
Codex Palatinus et postulatans pugillare *l*

iþ is sokjands spilda

And he seeking a writing-tablet.

Friedrichsen correctly pointed out (1926: 174) that αἰτέω was usually rendered into Gothic as *bidjan*, and that *sokjan* normally rendered ζητέω. On this basis, he regarded this as a shared rendering: ‘here *sokjands* is an inaccurate reproduction of Palatinian *petiil*’.¹⁰ This would then be a good example of the phenomenon discussed below as loan-shift (semantic extension); and in so far as it goes, the argument is unexceptionable. But no alternatives were considered. Friedrichsen should, perhaps, have allowed more for the possibility of *sokjan* having a semantic range which covered the concept of asking (as in English *beseech*, or German *ansuchen*), or for the possibility that the influence need not have come from Codex Palatinus, but from some other Latin version which happened to read *petere* (or *quaerere*) at this point. Most probably, in my view, we are dealing here with a Greek variant ζητήσας. There is no direct attestation **(p.400)** for such a variant, but again it is palaeographically unproblematic, and efficient as an explanation for the various readings in the Latin and Gothic. If this is the correct explanation, it does not rule out Latin-Gothic interaction, but it does make it unnecessary as an explicatory hypothesis at this point.

After palaeographical corruption, the most common source of shared readings with little or no attestation in Greek is probably the desire for linguistic or literary purity, or for clarity of argument. Thus at Luke I: I we find the following:

(3) ἐπειδήπερ πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν
quoniam quidem multi temptauerunt ordinare/disponere narrationem quoniam quidem multi temptauerunt conscribere narrationem <i>Codex</i>
<i>Bezae</i>
unte raihtis managai dugunnun meljan insaht
Seeing as many have undertaken to write an account.

The use of *meljan* to render ἀνατάξασθαι (not found elsewhere in the New Testament) also attracted the attention of Friedrichsen (1926: 128), who sternly set it down in the class of ‘Renderings Illustrative of an Inferior Level of Achievement’. It is true that *meljan* is the usual translation of γράφειν, and as such it might be felt somewhat flat here. But that rests on the assumption that ἀνατάξασθαι is indeed the underlying text at this point. The Latin text of Codex Bezae *d* here reads *conscribere*, and one might have expected this to be evoked as evidence for Latin-Gothic interaction. I propose rather that both the Gothic and *d* reflect an unattested Greek reading συγγράφειν or συγγράψαι. This immediately recalls the proem of Thucydides: Θουκυδίδης Ἀθηναῖος συνέγραψε ... That Luke is by some way the most ‘literary’ of the New Testament writers has long been recognized, and it is not surprising if some copyist tried to take this feature further. The undoubted similarity between *d* and the Gothic cannot be explained as the result of interaction.

The merely circumstantial nature of shared readings as evidence of contact between versions is particularly relevant in considering the similarities of word order between two versions. It has, in fact, been argued recently (by Klein 1992) that the Gothic translation is fairly ready to diverge from the Greek and to pursue its own natural word order. This may indeed be the case; but it should be borne in mind that word order is precisely one of those aspects of the **(p.401)** Greek text most subject to variation. In the first chapter of Luke as given in the International Greek New Testament volume (1984), no fewer than 53 of the 80 verses have variations in word order listed. Many of these verses have more than one variation. The definition of ‘variation in word order’ here covers only those instances where *the same forms of the same* words occur in different sequence, and *not* instances where slightly different words (or forms) occur in different orders (thus καὶ εἶπεν ὁ Ἰησοῖς, καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς, and ὁδὲ Ἰησοῦς, εἶπεν are treated primarily as variant readings rather than variant word orders). Moreover, the International Greek New Testament volume is cautious about citing variant word order (even on this narrow definition) on the basis of the versional evidence; other plausible variations could be reconstructed on the basis of the ancient translations. This caution is entirely proper, given the difficulties of using versional evidence for this purpose. If one Latin text reads *et Iesus dixit* and all the rest read *et dixit Iesus*, should we posit a variant in the Greek to account for what may just be the work of a nodding Latin scribe?

These difficulties were realized, at least in principle, by Cuen-det (1929: 2): ‘Une divergence qui semble intéresser l’ordre des mots peut être accidentelle; l’influence du contexte ou de passages parallèles se fait parfois sentir; souvent c’est une variante du texte grec qui donne la clef de l’énigme.’ But in my opinion (and these matters must remain subjective) he gave too little attention to the possibility that the versions he was investigating (the Gothic, Armenian, and Old Church Slavonic) might themselves be witnesses to lost Greek traditions. Furthermore, in his treatment of Gothic Cuendet is hampered to a greater degree than he acknowledges by our necessary ignorance of many aspects of that language. Unlike Armenian or OCS, Gothic has nothing that we can call a daughter language; and even the corpus of contemporary non-translational literature in Gothic is tiny compared to that in the other languages. His recourse to Old Norse and Old High German as comparanda for Gothic is entirely reasonable (more Old English might have helped), but these languages can at best provide parallels for what Gothic word order *may* have been like.

(p.402) 3. Shared Renderings

3.1. Formal correspondence

It is generally the case (if easy to exaggerate) that both Latin and Gothic versions are fairly literal in their approach to the Greek. It follows that there will be certain similarities that result simply from a shared approach to translation. Friedrichsen rightly notes (1926: 34) that such similarities between the African Old Latin and the Gothic as *tinguo* corresponding to *daupjan* (βαπτίζω), *benenuntiare* to *watlamernjan* (εὐαγγελίζω), *coinquinare* to *gamainjan* (κοινώω), are no more than coincidental. Such coincidences are quite insignificant where they merely reflect the structure of the Greek. However, they may be more interesting where they do differ from the Greek. This is the case with the verb καθαρίζω, usually translated as *emun-dare* in Codex Palatinus and as *mundare* in the other versions. Thus at Luke 4: 27 we find the following:

(4)	καὶ οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν ἐκαθαρίσθη
	et nemo illorum mundatus est <i>most Latin texts</i>
	purgatus <i>a</i>
	emundatus <i>Codex Palatinus</i>
	jah ni ainshun ize gahrainids was
	And not one of them cleansed was.

Now Gothic, like Latin, has a system of preverbs which modify to a greater or lesser degree their verbs. The *ga-* prefix, according to Wright (1910: 172, 180–1), ‘often had only an intensive meaning or no special meaning at all ... originally [it was] added to verbs to impart to them a perfective meaning’.¹¹ It appears, then, that *gahrainjan* stands in a relation to *hrainjan* similar to that of *emundare* in relation to *mundare*, the former verb in each case meaning ‘to cleanse completely’.¹² This coincidence of *gahrainjan* and *emundare* is found also at Luke 5: 12 and 7: 22; at Luke 17: 6 Codex Palatinus has the simple form.

(p.403) Another possible case of formal correspondence occurs at Luke 16: 20:

(5)	Λάζαρος, ὃς ἐβλήθη ... ἡλκωμένος
	Eleazarus proiectus erat ... ulceribus plenus <i>Codex Palatinus</i> qui iacebat ... ulceribus plenus <i>other Latin texts</i> missus est <i>d</i>
	Lazarus, sah atwarpans was ... banjo fulls
	Lazarus, who cast was with wounds full.

Here Friedrichsen (1926) devoted considerable attention to the similarity between *proiectus erat* and *atwarpans was*, which Burkitt (1927: 94) rightly discounts as simply a literal reproduction of the Greek. More promising appears the similarity between *ulceribus plenus* and *banjo fulls*, inasmuch as neither is a literal rendering of the Greek. The question here is whether either translation would have been perceived as idiosyncratic in its own language. It is unlikely that the Latin would. This same extended use of *plenus* + ablative is notoriously found in the Annunciation narrative at Luke 1: 28 (*ave, gratia plena*), and can be paralleled in modern Romance by phrases such as *un' albero piena di mele, una donna piena di soldi*. Whether *banjo fulls* is similarly idiomatic Gothic is less clear; the existence of much later Germanic parallels of the type *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden* suggests it might have been, but the possibility of Latin influence cannot be ruled out.

The difficulty of assessing what is an idiomatic and what is an idiosyncratic rendering may be illustrated also by the case of the renderings of δοξάζω. This regularly occurs in the Gothic as *mik-iljan* and in most Latin versions of Luke as *magnificare*; thus at Luke 1: 46 *mikileid saiwala meina frauja* corresponds to the Latin *magnificat anima mea dominum*. Friedrichsen (1926: 171) explains the Gothic as a simple calque on the Latin. This may indeed be the case. It is worth noting that there are no fewer than six other Latin translations in use, and three other Gothic translations. It is possible that the similarity between *mikijjan* and *magnificare* is fortuitous, the result of different translators independently casting around for a suitable rendering; this is more likely to happen in the case of such abstract concepts as δοξάζειω, where it is impossible to point to referents in the external world.

On occasion also it is difficult to tell whether a formal correspondence between Latin and Gothic does not arise from a variant **(p.404)** reading. Thus at Luke 10: 20 we find Codex Vercellensis *a* (another manuscript with a North Italian provenance) apparently in agreement with the Gothic:

(6) τὰ πνεύματα ὑμῶν ὑποτάσσεται
spiritus uobis obaudiunt <i>Codex Vercellensis</i>
<i>variants on subicere or subdere in other Latin texts</i>
ahmins izwis ufhausjand
Spirits you obey

Compare also *audire* in *b q* at Luke 10:17. Here it is tempting to hear in the Gothic *ushausjan* an echo of the use of *obaudire*. However, it might be better to ascribe both to a variant reading (unattested) ὑπακούει.

It follows, then, that while it is easy to point to formal correspondences between Latin and Gothic, and while in many cases it would be easy to explain one version with reference to the other, this is seldom the only plausible explanation. Certainly if we are dealing with a known bilingual text (such as Codex Brixianus or the Vienna Fragment) we may do so with some confidence; but these formal correspondences by themselves are not conclusive evidence.

3.2. Shared interpretations

Despite the largely literal character of both the Latin and the Gothic translations,¹³ the translators are not committed to absolute word-for-word translation and do on occasion vary their renderings of particular words. While there seems sometimes to be no compelling reason for this, there are other occasions on which it is possible to discern a definite motive; it may be that a Greek idiom simply does not yield sense if translated literally, or it may be that a polysemous Greek word simply does not have a corresponding Gothic word that can cover its entire semantic range.

The Old Latin and Gothic versions do at certain points depart from a strict literalism in the direction of a more interpretative rendering. Thus at Luke 10: 19, we find the following:

(p.405)

(7) ἰδοὺ δέδωκα ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν τοῦ **πατεῖν** ἐπάνω ὄφρων

ecce dedi uobis potestatem calcandi supra serpentes *vel sim. all Latin texts*

saei atgaf izwis waldufni trudan ufaro waurme

See, I have given you power to tread over serpents.

πατεῖν is, of course, a verb with a wide semantic range, including the simple notion of walking but also the more forceful one of treading down (see LSJ). It is not a common verb in New Testament Greek, but the compound περιπατεῖν at John 6: 19 is rendered simply as *gaggan* in the Gothic version and as *ambulare* in all the Latin texts. Here, however, both Latin and Gothic have chosen a more forceful rendering. This is to some extent conditioned by the context, but not altogether; the interpretation 'I have given you power to walk upon serpents' would lack the same force, but would not be incomprehensible.

So also at Luke 19: 23 we find:

(8) διὰ τί οὐκ ἔωκάς μου τὸ ἀργύριον ἐπὶ τράπεζαν

quare non dedisti pecuniam meam ad mensam *most Latin texts*

nummular(i)is <i>e f</i>
duhwe ni atlagides pata silubr mein du skattjam
Why not did you entrust the silver mine to the money changers?

Here the Gothic, along with Codices Brixianus *f* (definitely Gothic-influenced) and Palatinus, seems to offer a gloss on the metaphorical use of τράπεζα. It is possible, however, and more likely than in the preceding instance, that we are dealing with corruption from the parallel passage Matt, 25: 27: ἔδει σε οὖν βαλεῖν τὰ ἀργύριά μου τοῖς τραπεζίταις.

These interpretative renderings, then, have also proved inconclusive as a means of establishing interaction between the Latin and Gothic versions. This is largely because at points where a non-literal translation is required by the context, it is not surprising if Latin and Gothic translators happen by chance to innovate in similar directions. Moreover, the sort of difficult passage which requires interpretation is precisely the sort which is likely to attract editorial glossing over within the Greek tradition.

3.3. Patterns of rendering

Sometimes, however, a single Greek word may have more than one Latin or Gothic translation, all these translations being effectively **(p.406)** synonyms and not conditioned by the context. If at four consecutive instances of the Greek word in question the Latin were to use three renderings *a b c a*, and if the Gothic at the same four instances were to use three renderings *a¹ b¹ c¹ a¹*, then there would be grounds for supposing that one version had influenced the other, especially if the pairs *a/a¹* had some formal or semantic characteristic in common.

A loose version of this principle was applied by Friedriehsen (1926: 169–72) to the translations of ἀρχιερεύς into Latin and Gothic, but his attempts to demonstrate links between the six Gothic and five Latin translations of this word were not successful; as Burkitt pointed out (1927: 93–4), the formal correspondences between the individual Gothic words and their alleged Latin counterparts were too slight, and the patterns of distribution simply did not match closely enough.

This failure does not, however, compromise the general validity of the principle, which was revived in a suggestive article by Stutz. Stutz (1972: 400–1) compared the renderings of ἡ ταπεινοφροσύνη in Gothic¹⁴ with the renderings found in the biblical text of the late fourth-century Roman exegete Ambrosiaster. Her results may be summarized as follows:

Passage	Gothic	Latin
Eph. 4; 2	Hauneins	humilitas animi
Phil. 2; 3	hauneins gahugdais	humilitas mentis
Col. 2; 18	Hauneins	humilitas animi
Col. 2: 23	hauneins hairtins	humilitas animi/cordis ¹⁵
Col. 3: 12	hauneins ahins	humilitas sensus

It is immediately clear that there is a similarity, if not an exact correspondence, between the Latin and the Gothic translations. Although Stutz was mistaken in following the opinion of Friedrichsen (1939: 179) that the use of the qualifying genitive after *hauneins* was unwarranted by the Greek and must therefore be a Latinism (both statements are questionable), it is certainly true that the specific Gothic words chosen to render the ‘inner man’ concept do seem to resemble those of the Latin. However, Stutz stopped short of full investigation of possible relations between the Gothic and the Ambrosiaster text.

(p.407) An examination of the Gothic and Latin texts of Luke does not yield any extended examples of this sort of correspondence, but there are some noteworthy instances. Thus at Luke 5: 4 we find the following:

(9)	χαλάσατε τὰ δίκτυα ὑμῶν εἰς ἄγρην
	summittite retia uestra in capturam <i>most Latin texts</i> + piscium <i>r</i> ¹
	ad piscandum <i>Codex Palatinus</i> : piscandum <i>a</i>
	athahid þo natja izwara du fiskon
	Let down the nets of you to fish.

The similarities between Codex Palatinus and the Gothic are clear; both choose a verbal rather than a nominal construction, and moreover one that specifies the action of fishing. These similarities are thrown into relief when one considers that at Luke 5: 9, the same Greek word (ἄγρα) is rendered in Gothic by the noun *gafah* and in Codex Palatinus by *captura*. So also at Luke 19: 13 we find:

(10)	πραγματεύσασθε, ἕως ἔρχομαι
	negotiamini, dum venio <i>all Latin texts</i>
	kaupoþ, unte ik qimau
	Trade, until I come.

However, at Luke. 19: 15 we find:

(11)	τίς τί διπραγματεύατο
	quantum quisque negotiatus esset <i>most Latin versions</i>
	quis quantum lucratus esset <i>Codex Brixianus</i>
	quid egerint <i>Codex Palatinus</i>
	hwa hwarjizuh gawaurhtedi
	What each one had done/made.

Here again Codex Palatinus and the Gothic agree in alternating between two renderings within the same passage, and again they choose words with similar semantic ranges: *gawaurkjan*, cognate with English ‘to work’, has certain similarities with *ago*. This is, however, a less clear-cut case than the preceding. The fact that the Greek verb changes from simple to compound form does not cause any problem for most Latin translators, but there is a real difference **(p. 408)** in meaning: ‘to engage in trade’ in the first instance, ‘to make a financial return from trading’ in the second. It is possible that both Latin and Gothic translators tried to reproduce this distinction.¹⁶ None the less, it is noteworthy that both texts change their basic root between the two versions.

This last point should be stressed: that patterns of rendering can be inferred only if it can be plausibly shown that the renderings *a/a*¹ form genuine pairs. Even in such cases, it would be necessary to demonstrate sustained patterns of rendering over large portions of text. In principle, then, this sort of evidence could indeed suggest very strongly interaction between Latin and Gothic; but as yet no compelling examples have been adduced.

3.4. Loan-shifts

It is well known that where two languages are in contact, they may interact on each other's semantics and syntax. The nature of this contact may, of course, vary widely. In describing bilingual-ism within a community, we might consider four variables (others could be added): the relative percentages of speakers of each language, the percentage of bilingual speakers (and the nature of their bilingualism), the social spheres in which the two languages were used, and the degree of relatedness between them. Thus a community consisting of 50 percent Dutch and 50 per cent German speakers, where 90 per cent of each group was capable of speaking the other language with some fluency, and in which both groups lived and worked together and readily intermarried, is necessarily a very different sort of bilingual community from one where 98 per cent speak Italian and 2 per cent Albanian, where effectively no Italians speak any Albanian and all Albanians have a limited non-native competence in Italian, where Italian is associated with wealth and power, and the two groups tend not to mix on an equal footing.¹⁷ And there are, of course, many cases of language contact which fall short of bilingualism, either in an individual or in a community. It follows that the nature of the interaction between the two languages may also be of very different types. Here I would identify as key variables first the extent to which the extraneous usage is actually **(p.409)** perceived by the speaker as extraneous, and second the extent to which it is intended to be. Thus when Catullus writes *phaselus ille, quern uidetis, hospites, | ait fuisse nauium celerrimus* (4. 1-2) we assume that the exoticism was both perceived and intended; it may be classed as a borrowing. But if we had encountered a similar construction in the vulgar Latin of a freedman of known Greek origin, we might regard it as interference—neither perceived nor intended.

The terminology of loan-shifts and of semantic and syntactic extension may require some comment. The phenomenon whereby the semantic range of a word in language A is extended to cover that of a corresponding word in language B is one familiar to all Latinists; thus *uirtus* extended to cover the range of ἀρετή. But the terminology is less fixed than one might wish. The phrase 'loan-shift' is used in Hock's authoritative work (1988: 398-9) to refer to this phenomenon (and to nothing else). Romaine (1995: 56) likewise speaks of 'loanshift ... [also] called (semantic) extension', but uses it as a superordinate term including also calquing or loan translation; so also Appel and Muysken (1987: 165), who illustrate the term with the examples of *Wolkenkratzer*, *gratte-ciel*, and *rasca-cielos*, all 'loan shifts ... based on the English *Skyscraper*'. Crystal (1991: 205) defines loan-shifts as instances where 'the meaning is borrowed but the form is native', but illustrates this with *restaurant* given a fully Anglicized pronunciation rather than a semi-Gallicized one—which I suspect most would not regard as a case of loan-shift. Bynon (1977: 237-9) distinguishes loan-shifts in Hock's sense from calques and other related phenomena, but prefers the terms 'semantic extension' and 'semantic calque'.

One might indeed argue that the term ‘loan-shift’ is in itself imprecise, as it tends to suggest a wholesale change in semantic reference, whereas what normally happens in a loan-shift is not that a word moves from one meaning to another, but that it acquires a new range of meaning while retaining the old. None the less, the term will be retained here, with the phrase ‘semantic extension’ used to cover its lexical manifestations, and ‘syntactic extension’ used to cover its syntactic ones (such as the bureaucratic/academic English use of the reflexive in expressions such as ‘The problems resolve themselves ...’, on the model of continental Germanic or Romance constructions). It is also assumed that the cases in point represent borrowings (and are hence to some extent at least perceived and intentional) rather than interference. Semantic and syntactic extension (especially the former) is particularly likely to occur in biblical translations, as translators are under special obligation to reproduce as much as they can of the structures of the original in the target language; but they can also occur between two different versions.

The phenomenon of loan-shift in a Gothic Latin context can be well illustrated by the situation in the Vienna Fragment at Matt, 26: 73 (after Burton 1996a: 153):

(12)	καὶ γὰρ ἡ λαλία σου δῆλόν σε ποιεῖ
	etenim tua loquella manifestum te facit <i>many Latin versions</i> ¹⁸
	etenim tua loquella significat te <i>Vienna Fragment</i>
	jah auk razda þeina bandwaiþ þuk
	And for speech your marks out you.

Now, the translation *manifestum te facit* is both close to the Greek and entirely lucid, whereas *significare* is simply not used in ordinary Latin to mean ‘to mark someone out’. Here the Gothic *bandwaiþ* gives the clue. *Bandwjan*, the denominative verb from *bandwa* (the usual translation of τὸ σημεῖον), is entirely appropriate here; given the other evidence for Latin-Gothic interaction in the Vienna Fragment, it is overwhelmingly likely that it supplies the model for this use of *significare*.¹⁹ In this and other cases it should be noted that the two versions do not coincide exactly; one might contrast the sequence *tua loquella* with *razda þeina*. But since Burkitt’s article of 1900, it has not been the practice to insist that two versions need coincide in every possible respect before we can entertain the possibility of interaction. Rather we should consider whether there are sufficient similarities which cannot be better explained by other means.

A similar correspondence occurs at Luke 20: 37:

(p.411)

(13) ὅτι μὲν ἐγείρονται οἱ νεκροί, καὶ μωϋσῆς ἐμήνυσεν
quoniam uero resurgunt mortui Moyses ostendit <i>most Latin texts</i>
demonstrauit <i>a: significauit d</i>
resurgere autem mortuos Moyses significauit <i>Codex Palatinus</i>
apþan þatei urreisand daupans, jah Moses bandwida
But that rise again the dead, even Moses indicated.

Given the correspondence of *bandwjan* to *significare*, it is tempting once again to see this as evidence for interaction. However, this is not so straightforward as the previous example. The key question, as set out earlier, is whether either the Latin or the Gothic translation counts as idiosyncratic. The Gothic does not. The Latin may be idiosyncratic; *significare* is perhaps not an obvious rendering of μηνύω.²⁰ But the wider context might be sufficient to explain this choice of rendering. The verse continues ...ἐπὶ τοῦ βάτου, i.e. ‘in the burning bush’. Now given that the passage is dealing with *symbolic* representations and exegeses, it may be that *significare* was simply chosen as an appropriate verb for the context. It should, in any case, be noted that the syntax of Codex Palatinus here, while more elegantly classical than that of any other Latin text, is some way removed from the Gothic.

The same question of what constitutes an idiosyncratic rendering is sharply in focus at Luke 2: 35:

(14) ὅπως ἂν ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν ἐκ πολλῶν καρδιῶν διαλογισμοί
ut denudentur de multis cordibus cogitationes <i>Codex Palatinus</i>
reuelentur <i>other Latin texts</i>
ei andhuljaindau us managaim hairtam mitoneis
So that may be revealed from many hearts the thoughts.

Here the question revolves around the semantics of *denudare* and its relationship, or otherwise, to the Gothic *andhuljan*. Now *andhuljan* is the usual translation of ἀποκαλύπτω; it is formally identical to German *enthüllen*. But the sense ‘to reveal’ is originally a metaphor; the basic sense is ‘to strip away the outward covering’ (a sense still seen in English *hulled wheat*). As such, it corresponds closely in form to the *denudare* found in Codex Palatinus. The question is whether we need to invoke Gothic influence to explain *denudare*.

It is at least arguable that *denudare* is a surprising translation here, given the range of options: not only *reuelare*, but also *retegere*, **(p.412)** *detegere*, *recludere*, and *discooperire*, all of which are formally closer to the Greek and are well established in their metaphorical meaning. On this basis, *denudare* seems an odd choice; as if the Book of Revelation were to become the Book of Denudation. Even though translators do at times have recourse to odd words through sheer *horror usitati*, a stronger explanation seems in order. Some further examination of the semantics of the verb are clearly required.

From *TLL* v. 550. 42 ff. it would appear that *denudare* in this extended sense is particularly common in the Christian writers, and that it is usually perceived as a live metaphor. Often it is modified by *uelut* or *quasi*, or by the presence of some plainer synonym (*pro-trahere*, *intellegere*). So, for instance, Augustine *De utilitate credendi* 3. 9, *sed uelamen eius ut per Christum intellegatur et quasi denudetur*. Likewise the evidence of Romance suggests that the modern languages have preserved no trace of any metaphorical sense. Verbs ‘to reveal’ are derived from *reveiare*; no native informant questioned has allowed the reflexes of *denudare* in the sense ‘to reveal’ except as a somewhat forced metaphor.

There is, however, some evidence of its wider use as a rendering of ἀποκαλύπτω in the metaphorical sense elsewhere in the biblical literature. Of the thirteen instances of the verb in the Vulgate, four (Isa. 47: 2, Ezek. 23: 18, 26; Hab. 3: 4) come from portions translated by Jerome from the Hebrew, so cannot be used as simple comparanda; and three are in any case used in the literal sense. Of the remaining nine, one is used literally (*denudare femur uirginis* at Judith 9: 2, translating γυμνώω), and so needs no special notice. All the remaining eight are used metaphorically; one from the First Book of Macchabees (7: 31), and seven from the Book of Sirach (4: 18; 6: 9; 16: 31; 19: 8; 27: 16, 17; 27: 21). In each case the underlying Greek text reads ἀποκαλύπτω.²¹

What is to be made of this? The first point to notice is that these are translations from deuterocanonical works composed in Greek and so translated directly from the original—and not by Jerome himself, who was content to retain the Old Latin version. The repeated use of *denudare* in Sirach might simply be a peculiarity of one individual translator, coincidentally shared by the editor of Codex Palatinus.

I would suggest this is not, after all, such a peculiarity as it would **(p.413)** appear. There seems to be tendency, not previously remarked, for *denudare* to collocate with verbs denoting thought or mental state. Thus Varro *LL* 9. 112, *si quis alitor putat ... suam inscientiam denudat*; Livy 42. 13. 3, *cernebam nobilissimas ... ciuitates ... denudantes iudicia sua*; Livy 44. 38. 1, *P. Nasica ... denudauit mihi suum consilium*. The same is true also of most of the biblical usages of *denudare*: so 1 Macc. 7: 31, *et cognouit Nicanor quia denudatum est consilium eius*. The use of *denudare* in Codex Palatinus is, therefore, a close parallel to this, and we may be dealing with multiple causation: an established metaphorical sense in collocation with nouns of thought or feeling, which perhaps becomes especially current in Christian circles through its use in the translation literature.²² This does not preclude also influence from the Gothic, but it tends to make it redundant.

In examining Friedrichsen's 'Palatinian bilingual' hypothesis, I have generally found the evidence he adduces inconclusive, either because of its intrinsic weakness or (more often) because of the lack of consideration given to other explanations. However, there are some instances where Friedrichsen's explanation seems to me at least as good as any other. One such case (Friedrichsen 1926: 180) is Luke 19: 31:

(15) ὁ κύριος αὐτοῦ ᾧ χρεῖαν ἔχει
<i>dominus desiderat ilium Codex Palatinus; similar in some other texts</i>
<i>frauja bis gairneip</i>
The Lord of it wants.

The rendering *dominus desiderat ilium* is unexceptionable; *desiderate* has the basic meaning 'to feel the lack' of something, extending in one direction to mean 'to desire' and in the other direction to mean 'to need'.²³ Now the Gothic at this point has not its usual **(p.414)** translation, *þaurban*, German *dürfen*, but *gairnjan*, the usual translation of *μποθέω* and *ἐπιποθέω*. Friedrichsen held that this could only be the outcome of Latin influence.

Burkitt (1927: 94–5), reviewing Friedrichsen, allowed that this was indeed a peculiarity of rendering in the Gothic,²⁴ and that it did require special explanation; his suggestion was that ‘The Goth avoids making Jesus declare that he *needed* it’ (emphasis added). However, explanations based on theological *Tendenz* are notoriously hard to verify. One might alternatively consider whether *gairnjan* does indeed have the sense ‘to need’, not attested else-where. A useful starting-point for this would be the consideration of cognates in other early Germanic languages. And in the Old English Gospels, at Luke 22: 71, we find *hwi 3yrne we 3yt 3ewitnesse?* (‘what further need do we have of witnesses?’). If this can be taken as evidence that Gothic *gairnjan* and its cognate Germanic verbs did mean ‘to need’ as well as ‘to want’, then Friedrichsen’s argument is largely undermined. But the underlying text of the Anglo-Saxon Gospels is not the Greek but the Vulgate—which has *quid adhuc desideramus testimonium?* If it is generally allowed that the meaning of *giernian* in this passage has been affected by the Latin, then the same explanation ought to hold good of the Gothic at Luke 19: 31. On that basis, Friedrichsen’s explanation still looks attractive, even though it is not necessary to posit influence from Codex Palatinus itself but from any Latin version with this wording.

In considering the phenomenon of loan-shift, we have so far considered only cases of semantic extension. But we may point also to what may be called syntactic extension, namely the extension of certain syntactic devices in one language on the model of a similar construction in another. Canonical examples of this phenomenon include the use of genitives of comparison or genitive absolutes in the Latin or Gothic versions, on the basis of the Greek, though in Latin at least these constructions are much less common than is often supposed. But this sort of extension can also occur between versions. One possible case in point occurs at Luke 1: 18:

(p.415)

(16) ἡ γυνή μου προβεβηκυῖα ἐταίς ἡμαρῖς αὐτῆς
uxor mea processior in diebus suis <i>Codex Veronensis a</i>
procedit <i>most Latin texts</i> : progressa <i>a</i> : precedens <i>d</i>
gens meina framaldrozei in dagam seinam
Wife my more advanced in days her,

Here the Gothic adjective *framaldrozei* is in the comparative degree. A parallel construction is found in Codex Veronensis (the finite verb in most Latin texts probably results from a variant *προβέβηκε*, though there is no attestation for this). Now this use of the comparative is wholly natural Latin with adjectives of age (e.g. *Aen.* 6. 304, *iam senior, sed cruda deo uiridisque senectus*); a similar construction is, in fact, found in Luke 1: 7, where *προβεβηκότες* is rendered as *seniores* in Codex Bezae *d*. The reading *processores* in Codex Usserianus *r*¹ is probably another example of the same. Gothic, however, is not generally held to use this construction.²⁵ On this occasion it is impossible to posit a Greek variant to explain the Gothic comparative; the perfect participle does not admit of degree. Here Latinism seems indeed to be the best explanation. Whether the Latinism stems directly from comparison with a Latin version, or whether the idiom had become established in Gothic through language contact, is impossible to say; I incline towards the former.

3.5. Underdifferentiation

The phenomenon of underdifferentiation is a very familiar one to anyone who has tried to speak a foreign language, but it has received surprisingly little attention in the literature of language contact. It is what happens when speakers of a second language fail to reproduce in that language a difference not found in their own; as, for instance, when an English speaker fails to distinguish in Italian between *tempo* and *volta*, or an Italian fails to distinguish between *to hear* and *to smell* (*sentire*),²⁶ For our purposes, underdifferentiation can be said to occur when as a result of interaction between two versions, version (*a*) fails to reproduce a distinction not reproduced in version (*b*), even though language (*a*) is in principle capable of reproducing this distinction. A particularly clear example occurs at Matt. 26: 58 (after Burton 1996a: 153):

(p.416)

(17) ὁ δὲ Πέτρος ἠκολούθει αὐτῷ ἕως ἔσω τῆς αὐλῆς
Petrus autem sequebatur ... usque in atrium
Petrus autem sequebatur ... usque ad domum <i>Vienna Fragment</i> ,
<i>Codex Birixtanus</i>
(Mark 14: 54: Paitrus ... laistada ... unte gam in garda)
Peter followed until he came into the <i>gards</i> .

The whole point of the passage is that Jesus is being taken into the governor's residence, and that Peter follows as far as the semi-public space (ἕως ἔσω τῆς ἀύλης) but gets no further. This is well captured in *usque in atrium*, but lost in *usque ad domum*. The Gothic at this point is lost, but the parallel passage in Mark reads *unte qam in garda*; it is overwhelmingly likely that *garth* is also the word used in Matthew. Now *gards* is the usual Gothic rendering of οἶκος or οἰκία, and probably means something like a I Homeric *oikos*: the complex of a house and its attendant courtyards and outbuildings. The crucial distinction between the private and semi-public space is lost. This underdifferentiation is reproduced in the Vienna Fragment (and in the Gothic-influenced Codex Brixianus), despite the fact that Latin can easily reproduce the distinction.

Examples of this kind are comparatively hard to find, perhaps because they are unlikely to occur. By definition, they involve blurring a significant distinction of meaning, and editors of bilingual manuscripts might be expected to be reluctant to do this knowingly.

4. Conclusions

The result of this study has not been to confirm Friedrichsen's thesis. I have attempted to test his evidence to destruction, but at least some of the evidence seems to have passed that test; I have also added further examples to it. As I have stated before, arguments for bilingual manuscripts are inevitably cumulative. I do not claim to have amassed such a heap (perhaps it cannot be done); but it may have been of some value to reapproach an old question and to attempt to refine our methodology for answering it.

Friedrichsen made two main claims: first, that the Gothic version as preserved in Codex Argenteus had been heavily Latinized in Oslrogothic Italy; and second, its text resulted from a bilingual manuscript whose Latin half had in turn influenced Codex Palatinus. Despite some striking similarities, I am on the whole not **(p. 417)** ready to agree that Codex Palatinus represents a Gothicized tradition. Likewise I am not prepared to agree that Codex Argenteus reflects a 'Palatinian bilingual' of the type posited by Friedrichsen. I am, however, prepared to entertain the possibility that Codex Argenteus does represent a Latinized tradition. If Auxentius' testimony on Wulfila's linguistic competence is to be believed, then it is quite possible that the Gothic Bible was 'Latinized' from the start. To give a modern parallel: in the preface to his celebrated version of Plotinus, Stephen MacKenna notes his extensive consultation of translations in other European languages. It is to be assumed that on occasion his version will concur with (for example) a German or French version; if we detect such influence, it is not necessary to suppose that his pristine version had subsequently been published as a bilingual German—English text, and 'Germanized'.

Some more general considerations are now in order. I have concentrated so far on the analysis of individual data; but these data are the outcome of wider circumstances. Given that some Latin-Gothic bilingual manuscripts were produced, what was their purpose? Who used them, and what for? What sort of interaction can we expect?

Such speculation is perilous as it always involves the risk of merely circular argument. We are, moreover, faced with the problem of finding suitable models for comparative study. If we consider the four variables suggested above—relative size of each language population, level (and nature) of bilingualism within each population, relative prestige of the languages, and their (perceived) level of relatedness, then we can at least state with confidence that within Ostrogothic Italy the Goths were numerically far smaller (though obviously more concentrated in some areas than others), and that Gothic and Italo-Latin are not likely to be perceived as related languages. It is the second and third of the four variables that are particularly hard to assess.

Considering first Gothic-speaking among Italians, we may recall the case of the sons of Cyprian mentioned at the start of this paper. As Moorhead points out (1992: 86), they seem to have been exceptional in being set to learn Gothic. But they may have been more exceptional as members of their class than as representatives of Latin-speaking Italy as a whole; it may well have been more traumatic for members of the elite to learn the language of the barbarian overlords than it was for the ordinary peasant—assuming **(p.418)** the peasant was in sufficient contact with Goths to make learning the language possible and profitable.

What of Latin-speaking, or at least Latin literacy, among the Goths? Heather (1996: 257) states that ‘many Goths also knew Latin’, though he gives no authority for this statement. It is not sufficient to suppose that Latin must have been used by Goths for administrative purposes. The existence of the Naples documents (even if they employ some Latin terminology) indicates that Gothic could be, and was, used for such purposes.

How far does research into Latin-Gothic bilingual manuscripts help elucidate the situation? The existence of bilingual manuscripts at all suggests some less than perfect bilingual competence among the target audience. There is, after all, little point in producing such a manuscript if its likely users are monolingual; and arguably not much point if they have such good bilinguistic competence that they are capable of judging of either version separately. It should be stressed again that it is far easier to identify Gothic influence on Latin than vice versa, for the reason given—we have a far better idea of how the Scriptures could be translated into Latin, and of Latin generally, than we do in the case of Gothic. But it may be that Gothic Latin was indeed the main direction of influence, and that the putative Latin-Gothic bilinguals so far identified reflect an attempt, or a series of attempts, by Arian Gothic religious authorities to bring the Latin scriptures into line with their own authorized version. A wider enquiry is needed, taking into account not only biblical manuscripts, other religious and political texts, inscriptions, and the evidence of later Latin and Italian, but also comparable situations of linguistic and cultural interaction, before more general conclusions can be drawn.

Notes:

(1) The 'Letter of Auxentius' is preserved in the *Commentarii* of the Arian bishop Maximinus. The passage quoted here is from chapters 53–4, from Gryson (1980). Whether the *interpretationes* are translations or commentaries (as Heather and Matthews 1991: 146) does not affect the main point.

(2) The standard study of the subject is that of Corazza (1969), unfortunately unavailable to me. For a concise, recent overview of Latin and Germanic cultural and linguistic contact, see now Green (1998), esp. 210–18.

(3) Moorhead cites Bonfante (1965), which unfortunately I have not been able to consult.

(4) These Old Latin versions are quoted from Jülicher, Matzkow, and Aland (1963–76); the Gothic from Streitberg (1908); the Greek from Nestle, Nestle, and Aland (1979).

(5) In fairness to Friedrichsen, he acknowledged (1926: 172) that 'not all (his examples) are equally convincing, whilst a number must be relegated to the border-line of the doubtful'. Unfortunately, he seldom indicated where he thought individual data fell on this spectrum.

(6) It is often very useful in assessing the semantics of a Gothic word to compare its cognates in other early Germanic languages, a task made easier by the existence of other biblical translations. In comparing Germanic versions, however, it must be remembered that only the Gothic is based on a Greek *Vorlage*

(7) As reflected in Nestle, Nestle, and Aland (1979), μέρη is, in fact, attested only in the Creek half of the Greek-Latin bilingual Codex Bezae.

(8) Codex Bezae *d* has the shepherds ‘singing’—*cantantes*. A charming picture, based either on a misreading of *noctantes* or (more likely) on the variant αὐλοῦντες.

(9) For a fuller discussion of this question, see Burton (1996*b*) 88–90.

(10) One assumes that by ‘inaccurate’ Friedrichsen meant ‘inaccurate as a reproduction of *petiit*’, rather than ‘of αἰήσας’, though whether it was inaccurate on the lexical level, or because *ptiit* is finite and *sokjands* a participle, is uncertain. It is very difficult to argue for influence of the Latin on the Gothic if it is acknowledged that the Gothic is not an accurate reflection of the Latin—though Friedrichsen does so.

(11) Debate about the exact force of this preverb was summarized and augmented by Scherer (1964). I do not claim to follow his own arguments, but the interpretation advanced here seems at least tenable for the present context.

(12) It is just possible that both Latin and Gothic translators have independently misanalysed καθαρίζω as a compound verb (like καθρίζω or καθεύδω, where it is not easy to discern any specific force in the compound), and translated accordingly.

(13) The Latin translations are of varying degrees of literalism, and are often less literal than is generally believed; the standard manuals tend to quote examples of extreme literalism without considering whether they accurately reflect the nature of the translation as a whole.

(14) i.e. the Gothic text of the Epistles, as preserved in the Codices Ambrosiani at Milan; not the Codex Argenteus of the Gospels.

(15) The full Greek phrase here is ταπεινοσύνη τοῦ νοός.

(16) As indeed it is reproduced in e.g. the English Revised Standard Version: ‘trade’ vs. ‘gain by trading’ However, here at least the same root is preserved.

(17) The discussion in Romaine (1995) 23–77, though not directly echoed here, offers a valuable orientation for the student of bilingualism within a society.

(18) Many other texts have *loquella tua similis est*; this is merely the result of an attested variant reading in the Greek.

(19) In view of the following example (Luke 20: 37). I am slightly less confident than I was of the extent to which this example can be taken as proof positive of Gothic influence on the Vienna Fragment. However, I remain sure of the general truth of that hypothesis.

(20) It is, in fact, quite possible that the underlying reading is ἐδήλωσεν. This is the reading of Codex Bezae *D* and Codex Washingtonianus *W*, together considered to be the best representatives of the 'Western Text' type. But that does not change the fundamental question here. Alternatively—and this is a more remote contingency—the underlying reading may be an itacizing metathesis of EMHNYΣEN to ΕΣΗΜΗΝΕΝ, of which both *bandwjan* and *significare* would be the obvious translations.

(21) I include here 16: 31, where modern editions of the LXX print καλύπτω, since it seems the Latin version relies on a variant text with the compound verb.

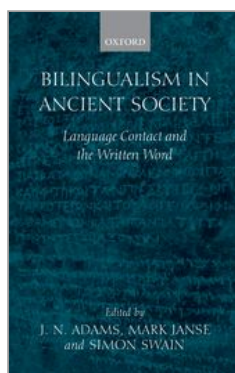
(22) I do not say this as a supporter of *Sondersprache* theory of the Sehrijnen—Mohrmann type, which in its purest form insists on a great gulf between the Latin of the Christians and that of the rest, in every respect. However, it is possible to hold that certain locutions (other than obvious *termini technici*) were peculiar to Christian circles.

(23) Codices *a aur b c ff² i l q* have *dominus operam eins desiderat*, with the force of χρεῖα 'profit, advantage' and 'need, necessity' split between the noun and the verb. Codices *r¹ s* have the classical *domion opus est*, while *d* has the stigmatized *dominus eius opus habet*. Codex Brixianus *f* paraphrases as *domino necessarius est*. The apparent loss of *egere* from normal Latin usage leaves this semantic area without a single term; the ancestors of such Romance expressions as *avoir besoin*, *avere bisogna*, *tener necesidad*, *mancare* etc. have not yet appeared.

(24) He further noted that the Gothic, like Codex Palatinus, changed back to their more usual translations in Luke 19: 34.

(25) I am credibly informed that Old English examples are conventionally regarded as Latinisms.

(26) The originator of this term seems to be Weinreich (1953: 18), who uses it specifically of phonology (so also Jeffers and Lehist 1986: 187); but it is equally appropriate of lexis.



Bilingualism in Ancient Society: Language Contact and the Written Text

J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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Latin-Frankish Bilingualism in Sixth-Century Gaul: The Latin of Clovis

PIERRE FLOBERT

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Abstract and Keywords

This chapter examines linguistic relations between the Gallo-Romans and their Frankish conquerors in the 6th century by considering the Latin of Clovis. The bilingualism of the Franks became active as they began reading religious, and then literary, texts. To write was the distinguishing characteristic of the most highly cultured, who as a rule were clerics. This bilingualism is uneven and lacks reciprocity, with the Latin speakers remaining reticent. Yet although this phenomenon was by no means universal, even among the Franks, the existence of numerous loanwords proves that the two languages were in close contact for a prolonged period of time.

Keywords: bilingualism, Latin, Frankish, Clovis, Gallo-Romans, loanwords, linguistic relations

WHILE some excellent recent work¹ has focused on different levels of communication in the transitional period from Latin to the Romance languages, linguistic relations between the Gallo-Romans and their Frankish conquerors have received surprisingly little scholarly attention. Indeed, in the course of the huge Rheims conference organized by Rouche in 1996, 'Clovis, histoire et mémoire',² which addressed so many of the issues related directly and indirectly to the conversion of Clovis, nothing was said about the linguistic contact between the indigenous population and the new arrivals. Did Clovis even know Latin? There is admittedly very little source material and not a great deal to be gleaned from the testimony of such notable witnesses as the Greek physician Anthimus, the poet Fortunatus, who was born in Italy, and the historian Gregory of Tours, scion of a family of 'senators', even though all enjoyed close relations with the royal family, respectively with Theoderic I, Queen Radegunda, and Clovis's grandsons.³ We must turn to the Romance languages for further evidence: they are rich in Germanic loanwords, although these tend, unfortunately, to be difficult both to classify and to date.⁴ Gaulish, the third language, was dying out **(p.420)** and was seldom spoken except in remote rural areas. It was ignored by both the writers and the new rulers of the territory: conversant only with Roman civilization, they had no need of the various patois of the social fringes.⁵

The fact that our sources remain silent about the incursion of a new linguistic element, Western Frankish (a form of Low German close to Flemish), one which was nevertheless of prime political significance, demonstrates once again the classical aversion to barbarism, coupled with an absolute lack of linguistic curiosity, as manifested in the sovereign contempt displayed for the error known as a *barbarolexis*, or use of a non-Latinized, foreign, word.⁶ Thus, in his *De uerborum significatu* Verrius Flaccus (as abridged successively by Festus and Paul the Deacon) glosses a whole host of archaisms but reduces the proportion of foreign words almost to nil.

The Germans had without doubt attracted the attention of the Romans at a very early stage. Caesar (*BG* 6. 21–8) lingered in particular over the *Hercynia silua* (cf. 27 *alces*, ‘elks’). *Glaesum* (‘amber’) is attested by Pliny (37. 42, cf. Germ. *Glas*), as is *sapo* (28. 191, Fr. *savon*, cf. Germ. *Seife*, Eng. *soap*). Tacitus devoted a monograph to *Germania*, which is thought to follow that of Posidonius. Later, in the fifth century, Salvian extolled Germanic virtue at the expense of Roman depravity, a rhetorical commonplace, in his *De gubernatione Dei*. A degree of disillusion did, however, set in when Trier, the town of his birth, was razed to the ground (6. 84), although he interpreted this as punishment for its corruption (6. 90). Barbarians had always been a source of amusement because of their graceless and incomprehensible jabbering: Aristophanes makes fun of the Scythian archer’s gibberish in *Thesmophoriazusae*, yet he lets Pseudartabas speak Old Persian in *Acharnians* (p.421) (100), before leaving him to jabber away, Plautus includes some words of Punic in his *Poenulus* (930–49).⁷ Gaulish is held up to ridicule as cacophonous by Cicero (*Font.* 33). The *Latin Anthology* (285) has left us a sentence uttered by a Gothic soldier: *eils, scapia matzia (n)ia drincan*, ‘Hello, give me food and drink’ (cf. Germ. *heil, schaffen, Messer, trinken; ia=jah*, cf. Lat. *iam*, *-h* = Lat. *-que*). Certainly the Germans had long used runes: in the fourth century, Wulfila the Visigoth, an Arian bishop, had translated the Bible (though not Kings!) into Gothic, establishing for the purpose a script based on the Greek uncial and expanded by the addition of Latin letters and runes. This script of eastern provenance was used in the Italy of the Ostrogoths and the Lombards; the language of the Western Germanic peoples was, however, only spoken and they indisputably recognized the supremacy of Latin.

In northern Gaul contact between the languages of the *Romani* and the *Franci* became increasingly close after 407, as the two communities gradually combined to form a single people.⁸ *Franci* and *Francia* are terms which became general from the seventh century, though the re-Germanization initiated by the Carolingians should be taken into account here. They originated in Austrasia and (unlike a number of their soldiers) spoke Rhineland Frankish, as evidenced by the bilingualism of the two brothers Louis and Charles at Strasbourg in 842, and by the *Ludwigslied*, also in Old High German, which celebrated the victory of Louis III over the Normans in 881. This process of amalgamation was completed in the tenth century with the emergence of the Capetians, who did not know Frankish.

From a sociolinguistic perspective it is important to draw a distinction between active and passive bilingualism.⁹ People understood one another all the more easily because the Franks, or at least their leaders, had already been Romanized and their armies **(p.422)** contained some Latin speakers. Members of the indigenous population, who greatly outnumbered the Franks (the latter comprising between 5 and 15 per cent of the total population),¹⁰ resorted to Frankish only for short exchanges and specific everyday terms. The use of Frankish was confined to the great and the good in the corridors of power,¹¹ driven by their ambition, and to their servants, for whom it became a professional necessity. Accordingly, Fredegunda, the serf who became queen, has a Frankish name (and a ridiculous one at that: 'for peace, battle!'). The rest of the population were restricted, at the very most, to passive bilingualism. As for the Franks, who had taken the initiative, their bilingualism became active as they began reading religious, and then literary, texts. To write was the distinguishing characteristic of the most highly cultured, who as a rule were clerics.

These, then, were the different levels of bilingualism of the Franks. What is striking about this uneven bilingualism is its lack of reciprocity: the Latin speakers remained reticent. Are we even entitled to refer to this as 'bilingualism'? 'Absolutely not' was the reply of F. Lot.¹² Yet although this phenomenon was by no means universal, even among the Franks, the existence of numerous loanwords proves that the two languages were in close contact for a prolonged period of time. It is difficult to pinpoint the position of the linguistic frontier previously; but in any event there should be no question of locating it at the level of the Loire, as did E. Gamillscheg, F. Petri, and W. von Wartburg. It remains a possibility that the position of the border was subject only to slight variations before being fixed in the thirteenth century, when Romance regained ground in northern France but lost its enclaves between the Rhine and the Moselle.¹³

The Latin and Germanic lexicons both contain traces of these **(p.423)** interactions.¹⁴ The figure for the number of Germanic loanwords in French varies (but stands at around 600). The dates of these borrowings cannot always be readily established on account of their protracted dissemination, the difficulty often involved in precisely determining their provenance, and because of the very uneven manner in which the vocabulary expanded (which means that closer attention should be paid to lexical fields).

In order to establish a chronology we must turn to evidence supplied by the *Französisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (FEW)* of W. von Wartburg (1922-63) and the *Romania Germanica* of E. Gamillscheg (1934). Worth considering in addition is a suggestive, if over-subjective, work by L. Guinet, *Les Emprunts gallo-romans en germanique* (1982).¹⁵

The material can be divided as follows:

- (1) Words borrowed reasonably early on, from Gothic and Visigothic mercenaries: *choisir* on the one hand (Goth. *kausjan*), and *guerre* on the other (OHG *werra* 'disorder', 'discord'; cf. Germ. *wirren*), *heaume* (*helm*, in preference to *galea*), *riche* (*riki*, also meaning 'powerful'), *rôtir* (*raustjan*).
- (2) From the Germanic peoples around the Rhine, when Trier became their capital: *blessier* (**blettjan*), *fourbir* (**furbjan*), *garder* (**wardôn*). In the other direction, *Kampf* (*campus Martins*), *kaufen* (cf. *caupo*), *Kelch* (*calix*), *Keller* (*cellarium*), *Essig* (*acetum*), *Winzer* (*uineator*), etc.
- (3) From the confederates, settlers, liegemen, *laeti* (cf. Eng. *to let*, and Fr. *lige*). Although mixed marriages were supposedly forbidden, some found ways of getting round the law. In addition to preparing the ground for invading armies, these peasant soldiers have left their own mark: *bâtir* (**bastjan*), *maçon* (Germ. *machen*), *crosse* (Germ. *Krücke*), *haie* (**hagja*), *grêle* (cf. Dutch *gries* 'coarse sand'?), *jardin* (Germ. *Garten*), etc.
- (4) From the Salian Franks (the Old Low Frankish of the Merovingians): *gagner* (**wadanjan*, Germ. *weiden*), *haïr* (**hatjan*: Germ. **(p.424)** *hassen*), *laid* (Germ. *Leid*), *Chilperic* (cf. Fortunatus below), and Merovingian onomastics.
- (5) From the Rhineland Franks (OHG *tiois* = Germ. *Deutsch*; cf. Audun-le-Tiche in Moselle vs. Audun-le-Roman in Meurthe-et-Moselle), who spoke the language of the Carolingians: the Council of Tours of 813 has them in mind in a reference to sermons which couples *Thiotiscam* with *rusticam Romanam linguam*. For example, cavalry vocabulary: *éperon* (Germ. *Sporen*), *étrier* (**streup*), *haubert* (Germ. *Halsberg*), etc.

There should be no underestimating the influence of Low Frankish, as Guinet does: the liegemen had, without doubt, enriched the language, yet the Frankish contribution proved decisive, consolidating what had merely been isolated borrowings. Indeed, the traces left by other barbarian settlers did not endure: the Taifal Goths at *Tiffauges*, the Alans at *Allaines*, the Sarmatians at *Sermaise*, the Moors at *Mortain*, *Mortagne*, etc. We can distinguish phonetically between different stages in the borrowing process: characteristic of the Germanic phase is monophthongization, diphthongization, gemination, and the dropping of phonemes in pronunciation. Here, however, we run up against the pernicious legacy of G. Straka,¹⁶ the Romanist whose systematic chronology has become holy writ in France, in spite of the fact that it altogether lacks a philological basis in Latin. Too credulous in this regard, Guinet denies the Franks *fief*, *guise*, and *haïr*, because, following Straka, he situates the assibilation of *t'* in the second century, the diphthongization of *ę* in the third century, that of *q* in the fourth century, the voicing of unvoiced intervocalic consonants around the year 400, aspiration at the end of the fifth century, and so on. This entire chronology needs to be lowered as a matter of urgency,¹⁷ for at present it cannot but strike horror into the heart of every Latinist. Because the phonetic changes are so excessively imbricated, the entire system is weakened as soon as one link gives way. With the proviso that a single example cannot of itself prove a general point, consider the fact that *au o* was in evidence from the time of the Republic!

(p.425) The findings of areal linguistics, rejected by Guinet, deserve careful consideration: ancient loanwords which had passed into Latin had the best chance of spreading widely. Conversely, restriction to northern France speaks in favour of Frankish, provided that we pay due attention to distributions in the south, which are often of great historical and cultural significance. We shall not follow Guinet in the opposite direction, however, when he asserts that *bourg* is of Saxon origin on account of its featuring in a great many of the place names of the north and of Normandy. The counter-examples are legion, simply because the word was in common parlance. We should not, in any event, be over-dependent on place names: the mere presence in a given area of property owned by Frankish lords does not prove that bilingualism was the norm there.

Let us return now to the Franks and their settlement in northern Gaul. The Franks are a young people and fairly late players in Roman history. The Frankish confederation brought together former Sicambri and Chamavi dwelling at the mouth of the Rhine, in Toxandria (Amm. 17. 8. 3). In Franconia (cf. *Frankfurt*), however, they consisted of former *Chattuarii*, *Ampsivarii*, and *Usipetes*. Their name may mean 'free', 'bold' (cf. the Germ. *frech*, Fr. *franc*, from which come Germ. *frank*, Eng. *frank*). They were received on arrival as other settlers had been, as is shown by the existence of place names determined by the genitive plural: *Francourville*, *Francorchamp*. The first reference to them occurs in the third century, in a song celebrating a glorious victory by Aurelianus: *mille Sarmatas, mille Francos semel el semel occidimus* (Hist. Aug. *Aurelian.* 7. 2). In the fourth century we know of the existence of some Rhineland Franks who played important roles in military and court circles: Gennobaudes, Arbogast, Merobaudes, and Bauto. In the fifth century Childeric, the Romanized Frank, defended Roman interests in Belgica II. He was a staunch ally of Aegidius and bore the title *rex*, as shown on the gold seal-ring recovered from his grave at Tournai in 1653, then stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831. He is depicted on the bezel dressed in the Roman style and the Latin inscription reads *Childirici regis* (CIL xiii. 10024. 307), 'Belonging to King Childeric'¹⁸ His son Clovis (481–511), who succeeded him as king, became engaged in hostilities against Aegidius' son Syagrius (Gregory of Tours, *Hist.* 2. 27 (p.426) *Romanorum rex*), whom he defeated and had killed in 486. Thereafter it fell to the Merovingians to defend the frontiers against the Alamans and the Visigoths and to hold the Bretons in check. The population was well aware of this and at no stage rose up in revolt.

Being defenders of *Romania*, the Franks were inevitably called upon to communicate with the *Romani*, the Gallo-Romans, and thus to use spoken Latin. It was after their conversion to Catholicism that the mass of the Franks were integrated into the Roman community, following in the footsteps of the great and the good who had already been Romanized. Thus it is that Gregory of Tours never makes even the slightest reference to the existence of a language barrier: Clovis held discussions with Saint Remi; Clothilda was already a Catholic, and when she abandoned Chlodomer's children to their unhappy end, it was probably in Latin that she cried out to her son's messenger, in spite of her piety, *satins enim est ... mortuos eos uidere quam tonsos* 'better off dead than tonsured' (Gregory, *Hist.* 3. 18). Fortunatus, for his part, became a prolific producer of occasional verse and conversed in Latin with Radegunda, Agnes, and others. Members of the Frankish nobility belonged, then, in part to the literary class and even savoured the efforts of the bishop of Poitiers.

Although some of the Franks could read Latin, it is unlikely that they would ever have written it; the Merovingian cursive is virtually indecipherable. Yet the fact remains that Clovis maintained an official correspondence. He sent one letter (to the bishops) and received six, two from Saint Remi, two from Theodoric (to whom he had given his sister, Audofleda, in marriage), one from Saint Avitus, and one from the bishops. At the very least, Clovis would have had the letters written or read by his scribes and been aware of their content.¹⁹ His sons would also have spoken and understood Latin: Theodoric I received a copy of Anthimus' opusculum and Childebert I was noted for his piety. In any event, his grandsons were men of letters, both Charibert (of whom Fortunatus, *Carm.* 6. 2. 100, wrote ironically that he was surely still more eloquent in Frankish than in Latin!) and Chilperic, who—when between murders—would pride himself on his knowledge of poetry, grammar, and even theology (Gregory, *Hist.* 5. 44). Queens and **(p.427)** princesses were also literate: Clothilda, Radegunda, Agnes, Brunhilda, etc. We may gauge the Latin-speaking ability of one particular Frank, *Francus quidam*, from evidence provided in the *Vita s. Caesarii Arelatensis* (MGH *Script. rer. Merov.* iii). He visits the saint's tomb to acquire a holy relic (2. 42), in the hope that this will prove an effective remedy for his feverish shivering. He asks for a piece of the saint's clothing to soak in his water before drinking: *da mihi de drapo Sancti Caesarii, propter frigoras, quia multis ualet, uolo bibere*. Instead, all he gets the following day is a pile of rags, *pannos*. Behold the wrath of the suppliant: *folle homo*! Yet these rags had been used in the preparation of the saint's body for burial. The Frank soaks them anyway, drinks the water ... and finds he has been cured!²⁰ This scenario illustrates a paradoxical case of diglossia: it is the Frankish conqueror (cf. Anthimus 14, *domni Franci*) who is relegated to the subordinate position, on account of his cultural and numerical inferiority. The Latin speakers had won the day: Latin held the monopoly on written language, even in the case of the Salic Law, with the exception of the 'Malbergian Glosses'.

Latin speakers, by contrast, were aware of their position of strength and made absolutely no attempt to learn Frankish. Men of letters did not use Frankish. Fortunatus is merely content to explain, with utter precision, the meaning of *Chilpericus* (*Carm.* 9. 1. 28): *adiutor fortis*, 'powerful supporter' (cf. Germ. *hilfreich*). Together with his friends from Poitiers, he dashed off several short poems, *uersiculi*; he praised the Frankish poet Gogon, among others, but left the *leudus*, 'song' (Germ. *Lied*) to the barbarians (*Carm.*, *praef.* 5 and *Carm.* 7. 8. 69). Naturally, in conversation he spoke only Latin and would have been quite incapable of doing otherwise. His friend, the aristocratic Gregory of Tours, makes almost no reference to Frankish. He merely mentions a number of characteristic terms: the *leudes*, companions of the king (Germ. *Leute*), on five occasions in the *Historia Francorum*. One item overlooked by Bonnet is *framea*, a '(very short) spear'. *Hist.* 3.5. Also, **(p.428)** *scramasaxus* (Germ. *Schramme* 'graze', *Sachse* 'Saxon' from a root meaning 'knife'), 'cutlass', *Hist.* 4. 51; *bannus* (Fr. *ban*) 'a fine', *Hist.* 5. 26; *fretus* (Germ. *Friede*) 'tax', *Martin.* 4. 26, which the Salic Law couples with *componere*; *Brachio*, *Vit. Patr.* 12. 2, is glossed as *ursi catulus* 'bear cub' (cf. Germ. *Bärchen*). In the passage describing the entry of Guntram into Orleans, cheering is heard in several languages: Syriac, Latin, Hebrew (probably Aramaic, with the exception of liturgical words such as *alleluia* and *hosannah*), but nothing whatsoever in Frankish.²¹ The hagiographies²² contain barely more Germanic than they do Celtic (*bacinum*, *ceruisa*, *cambiare*, *tunna*): *flasco* (cf. Fr. *flacon*), *mallus* (tribunal), *sala* (cf. Fr. *salle*), *wadium* (Fr. *gage*), *wantus* (Fr. *gant*). People readily understood the general gist of what was being said and an *interpretes* was very rarely used, and only then for Germanic; see Gregory, *Hist.* 6. 6 (Lombard). In short, while Franks knew a bare minimum of Latin, Latin speakers were seldom bilingual. Saint Lambert, in the seventh century, was an exception, living in Maastricht *sine interprets* (Nicol. *Vit. Lamb.* 9, MGH *SRM.* vi. 413). Anthimus the physician quotes a Gothic word, *fenea* 'barley broth' (64), and makes out that *melca* is Latin (78), which suggests that it had already been thoroughly assimilated.²³ As we have already seen, the Germanic contribution to French stands at more or less 600 words. That of Gaulish is more substantial than is often claimed: 200 words. It could, in fact, be reckoned to stand at 500 terms, but some of these are very specialized indeed.²⁴

Three social groups were especially predisposed to Germanization: to the aspiring politicians whom we have already encountered (Syagrius) should be added the administrative class, the servants **(p.429)** (Fredegunda), and the soldiers. In the wake of his victory, Clovis must have hired some of Syagrius' troops; in the sixth century there will have been a growing number of Latin speakers in the army, at least in Neustria. In 842 the language of the soldiers of Charles the Bald was Romance to the exclusion of Frankish. It was through them that many loanwords came to enter French: *alleu*, *ban*, *échevin*, *gage*, *harangue*; names of colours: *blanc*, *blond*, *bleu*, *brum*, *gris*; *braise*, *gâteau*, *robe*; *framée*, *gant*, *guerre*, *heume*, etc.

The disappearance of the Germanic languages from France, as from Italy and Spain, should be contrasted with the astonishing success of Frankish onomastics, even among Romance speakers, from the seventh century and even earlier: *Genovefa*, Saint Genevieve, was the daughter of *Gerontius* and *Seuera*, who were probably liegemen, not that this mattered.²⁵ All of a sudden, there was no way of distinguishing between Gallo-Franks and Franks such as the bishops and the nobility.

The Frankish language was to be allowed a second act of posthumous revenge, by naming the conquered country and its inhabitants. It should be appreciated that, in the fifth century, it was common practice to make use of the words *Romania* and *Romani*, general terms which had been adopted under the Empire, but had quickly become inadequate and obsolete. As for *Gallia*, and especially *Galli*, they had long ceased to bear either political or linguistic meaning. These senses were taken over, from the seventh century, by the terms *Francia* 'France'²⁶ and *Francus*, as well as its derivative form, *Franciscus* 'Frenchman'. By then, those whom Gregory of Tours and Fortunatus had still referred to as *barbari*, or denoted as *illi*, were fully absorbed and assimilated. In spite of a fleeting re-Germanization initiated from the east by the Carolingians, Germanic was suppressed within France, and fell out of usage in the **(p.430)** tenth century.²⁷ The process of assimilation was complete: *Gallia capta ferocem uictorem cepit*. All that remained of the Franks was their name, which became that of the new nation they had not only established but also, perhaps, saved from the threat of overwhelming Germanization.

Notes:

- (1) Banniard (1992); Van Uytfanghe (1976); Wright (1982), (1991).
- (2) Proceedings published in two volumes, each of over 900 pages (Paris: PUPS. 1997). All the more deserving of mention are the excellent pages from Riché (1962) 255–79, and we should not forget Ozanam (1849) 427–43.
- (3) On Anthimus' Latin see the indexes of Liechtenhan (1963); Flobert (1999); see also Bonnet (1890) on Gregory of Tours.
- (4) Gamillscheg (1934) and in Wartburg (1922–63), vols, xv, xvi, xvii. There are also two primary sources: the *Lex Salica (pactus)*, ed. Eckhardt (1962), or in the handy annotated edition of Geffcken (1898), the Latin text of which includes numerous more or less Latinized, or hybrid, Frankish words: *mallus* (tribunal), *mallare* (summon to a tribunal), and *admallare*. By contrast, the Malbergian Glosses consist of passages inserted unchanged: see Schmidt-Wiegand (1989).
- (5) The Gauls, or *Galli*, ceased to be so called before the 5th cent., considering themselves to be *Romani*, before becoming *Franci* in the 7th cent. See Flobert (1996).

- (6) This matter was first discussed in Lejeune (1940–8). Servius, in his commentary on Virgil, notes the less instances words from several foreign languages: see Uhl (1998) 584–7 (*barbarolexis*).
- (7) See the interpretative essay of Sznycer (1967).
- (8) Although there are many studies of Latin-Frankish bilingualism, these have tended to concentrate almost entirely upon Frankish loanwords incorporated into French: Jungandreas (1954–5) (M. Van Uytvanghe was kind enough to obtain a photocopy of this important article for me). Of more general interest are Rohlf (1947); Frings and von Wartburg (1937); Pfister (1972) (with critique of Gamillscheg 1934) and (1998). M. Janse kindly helped me with bibliography in this area.
- (9) The concept of linguistic contact was developed by Weinreich (1953). On bilingualism in general see Romaine (1995).
- (10) The proportion diminishes from north to south. Wartburg (1947) 138 estimates the figure as at least 15%.
- (11) In 469 Sidonius Apollinaris complimented Syagrius, ironically on his Knowledge of Germanic (*Epist.* 5. 5). On the two attitudes adopted by the indigenous population see Loyen (1963). Gregory of Tours (*Hist.* 5. 48) looks with little sympathy on the rise of Leudast, the son of a slave, who became earl of Tours.
- (12) Lot (1948). Later proved by the fact that the soldiers involved in the Strasbourg Oaths were monolingual.
- (13) See the outstanding fifth chapter, ‘Le heurt des civilisations’, of Musset (1969) 171–98 (bibliography on p. 22).
- (14) Latin loanwords incorporated into German are amply documented in all the histories of the German language. Let us merely mention a venerable work by Ehrhard (1888) and the valuable index, ‘Emprunts germaniques’, in Ernout and Meillet (1959) 800–2. A study of Flemish would be extremely useful.
- (15) His hasty conclusions are severely criticized by Pfister (1987), who laments in particular the lack of any reference to linguistic geography; see also Pfister (1973). Guinet is further criticized by Roques (1983), who objects to his use of Straka’s untenable chronology, which often anticipates by as much as 200 years.
- (16) Straka’s key articles are collected in Straka (1979). Their method is condensed and applied by De La Chaussée (1974); see Kramer’s devastating review in Kramer (1985).

(17) M. Banniard has begun this task in Banniard (1997). Compare this with the account given by Laborderie (1994), a work of the Straka school.

(18) Cf. Riché and Périn (1996) 89–95.

(19) The text of the letters is conveniently presented with their French translations in Rouche (1997) 387–453.

(20) The whole account is very significant from a linguistic point of view: *drapo*, possibly of Celtic origin and glossed in Reichenau 526, *pallium drappum*, the par-titive *de*, the plural *frigoras* the use of *uolo* instead of the future in *lauare uolo*, together with two other substitutions: the present *crastino do tibi* and, above all, the rephrasing *expectare habeo*, ‘I shall wait’. The character’s social status (a soldier?) is not known, nor is his precise nationality (Frank or Gallo-Frank?). The setting is Provence, i.e. abroad. Note the irony in this character’s anger.

(21) Bonnet (1890) 27–9. There is the same uncertainty in the New Testament, in the case of *Ἑβραῖος* (Acts 6. 1), *Ἑβραῖς* (Acts 21: 40), *Ἑβραϊσμί* (John 5: 2), which actually refer to the living language, Aramaic, rather than Hebrew, the traditional religious language which was no longer in use. Syrians and Jews must have told one another apart more by their clothing and their religion than by their languages, both of which were forms of Aramaic.

(22) According to the indexes to the MGH *Script, rer. Merov.*, iii–vii. For words borrowed from French see Lot (1948) 171–5.

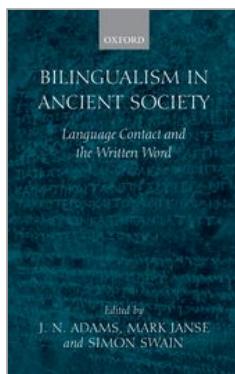
(23) This loanword (cf. Germ. *milch*, Eng. *milk*), which denotes sour milk, already featured in Apicius 296 *tit.* and *CIL*, vi. 30093. Anthimus uses several words which are undoubtedly Frankish, but without giving precise details of their origin. For example, *brado* ‘ham’, 14, 43 (Old Fr. *braon*); *bridum* ‘skewer’, 43 (Germ. *braten*); *medus* ‘mead’. 15, 76 (cf. Germ. *Met* and the English); *sodinga* ‘cooking-pot’, 3 (Germ. *sieden*).

(24) Lambert (1994) 185–200; Flobert (1994) 201–8.

(25) A substantial number of Germanic nouns have survived in France as first and family names: *Albert, Aubry, Baudoin, Baudry, Bernard, Charles, Flobert, Gaston, Gautier, Geoffroy, Gérard, Gilbert, Gontran, Grimaud, Guillaume, Haudry, Herbert, Louis, Richard, Thibaut, Thierry*, etc., and also *Berthe, Gisèle, Mathilde*, etc.; see Lot (1948) 167–70.

(26) See G. Kurth's much-consulted study of the terms *Francia* and *Francus*: Kurth (1919) 67–137. They were understood in three basic senses: the narrowest sense was the ethnic, then came the political, and then the extended sense. Yet this was no linear development: prolonged variations prove that the general meaning was far from settled by the 6th cent. (cf. the opposition between Neustria and Austrasia in the 7th cent.).

(27) By contrast, Britain saw Anglo-Saxon triumph over both the underlying Celtic layer—which was, however, preserved in Wales—and the superimposed upper layer of Norman French. Admittedly, the Saxons had made a clean sweep of things by driving the Celts out of the south and east, while the Anglo-Normans were in the minority, just as the Franks had been earlier, across the Channel



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J. N. Adams, Mark Janse, and Simon Swain

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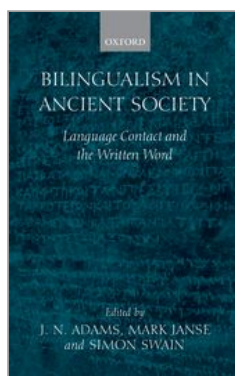
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